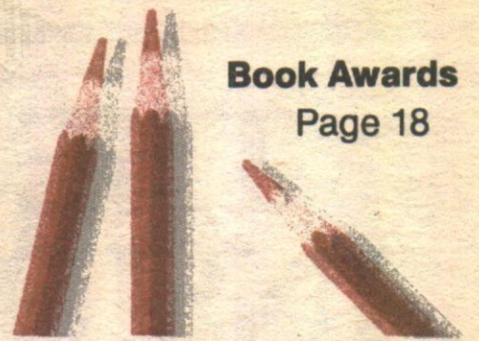


IN THESE TIMES



Book Awards
Page 18

VOL. 6, NO. 21

APRIL 21-27, 1982

\$1.00

Reagan's

Administration
antics fuel the
peace movement

Page 11

anti-freeze

The Falklands crisis

Pages 8 and 9

The very model of a
modern major debacle

THE INSIDE STORY



Diane Schmidt

Who are ERA's real friends?

By David Moberg

After 10 years of frustrating politicking, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)—first proposed in 1923—must win approval in three more states by June 30 or die, until it is resurrected again.

The problem has not been public approval. A 1981 *New York Times*/CBS opinion poll was typical in showing 57 percent in favor of the ERA. Despite broad support from men and women, that nevertheless leaves a disconcertingly large chunk of people either outright against equality, fearful of consequences that may or may not be associated with legal equality or opposed to something "ERA" symbolizes. Obfuscation and outright mendacity from ultra-conservative opponents have taken their toll. So have errors in proponents' strategy and tactics. Powerful, often shadowy forces have probably played their role—the Catholic church, various Protestant groups, the insurance industry and other businesses are all cited as opponents. And, of course, there are the Republican Party and the president, four-square against the ERA.

But the ERA is often not taken seriously even by its supporters. Now fence-sitters in state legislatures may feel they can just quietly let it die and escape a decision. But ERA backers say they won't let that happen. Several members of Congress plan to reintroduce the ERA as a Constitutional amendment if it is not ratified this year. Women's political groups, reminding politicians that women now vote as a more distinct bloc from men, will make ERA support important in coming elections if they can.

To beat the deadline, ERA forces will have to make their allies and would-be friends put women's rights higher on their agendas. Nowhere is the issue more dramatic and complex than in Illinois, the only major industrial state that has not ratified the ERA. In seven

votes in the state legislature, the ERA has always had a plurality and five times it has had a majority.

The three-fifths rule.

But every time it has needed three-fifths. That is because the state constitution mandates a three-fifths vote for state and federal amendments. The courts ruled the state constitution did not govern the federal procedure but the legislature could, on its own, set a special, larger majority requirement. So far it has.

The issue is coming to a head within the state labor federation (ISFL), a strong supporter of ERA after initial opposition and now led by Robert Gibson, described by some in the labor movement as a more liberal, activist leader of the state federation than past presidents. Gibson has supported the three-fifths rule because he and other labor leaders are afraid of future anti-labor amendments, such as a right-to-work law. And they insist that any deviance on behalf of ERA, even as a federal amendment, will make labor seem inconsistent and ineffective.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women strongly criticized Gibson's position in a February meeting in Detroit and sent a representative, Teachers union field service director Mary Lou Edwards, to reason with Gibson. Previously, Edwards says, the ISFL position had been informal. But when Gibson mentioned the new pressure building at a state federation board meeting, the printers' union representative proposed that the three-fifths rule be official policy. His motion passed (with nine members absent) with 14 yes votes and two nos, both from the only women board members representing the Teachers and the Communications Workers (CWA).

Armed with this new backing, Gibson went to the February Bal Harbour, Fla., AFL-CIO executive council meeting where president Lane Kirkland, CLUW president (and executive council member) Joyce Miller and AFSCME (public workers) counsel Winn Newman reportedly argued forcefully with Gibson for two-and-a-half hours that he should support majority voting on ERA and that his right-to-work fears were misplaced. (Right to work could as easily come through regular legislation as a constitutional amendment and, besides, it can—and should—be defeated politically, not through gimmicks, majority rule advocates say.)

The executive council also appointed a subcommittee to work for the ERA. The two responsible for Illinois are Miller and Service Employees president John Sweeney. Sweeney is in a ticklish position. His union has made a bid for women workers' support and recently initiated the District 925 office organizing campaign. But his Midwest vice-president, Eugene Moats, voted for the three-fifths policy. Late last week Sweeney, Miller, Gibson and others in the state federation were scheduled to meet. Sweeney, who repeated his support of the ERA, was noncommittal on the three-fifths rule until he heard from state labor leaders.

But Miller was emphatic: "We now feel because of the immediacy of the problem that whatever the merits of keeping the three-fifths rule, we can no longer have the luxury of the rule. I have warned Bob Gibson that he's going to be synonymous with not doing away with three-fifths, and that will make him equal to being against the ERA"—unfairly or not.

If Gibson can't be swayed, some unions are planning to break with the federation and work on their own for majority rule. That includes definitely AFSCME, ACT-WU (clothing and textiles), Teachers, Machinists, Auto-workers and CWA; probably the Mine Workers and the

Food and Commercial Workers; and possibly others.

Some labor union women are beginning to feel that despite their support many male union leaders just don't see ERA as being important. "The three-fifths rule is really desperately hurting us now," Edwards says. "Are we going to leave it there just because something might hurt us in the future? Labor has been cooperative when we say, 'Here is something to do,' but they don't take the initiative. It's a women's issue. Somehow they link women's issues with 'save the whales' and issues that aren't taken seriously." Women's activists try to counter that bias by showing how ERA is an economic issue, too.

But the biggest problem is not labor. "The political leadership of the state has never put its weight behind ERA the way it has on schools or transportation packages," AFSCME representative Nancy Shier says, pointing the finger of blame at both Democratic and Republican leaders to some extent. And Miller adds, "The key person is not Bob Gibson, but Governor James Thompson. He can change it, and he has the votes."

An uncooperative governor.

But Republican Thompson, who tries to pose as a social liberal and economic conservative, has never mobilized Republican votes for ERA. This year his primary choice as lieutenant governor was state Rep. George Ryan, a staunch opponent of ERA. The ERA forces made a strong political statement in the primary, getting a third of the votes for Ryan's pro-ERA opponent, Rep. Susan Catania, and coming out on top in two legislative races where ERA was one of the main issues. But after the primary Thompson switched in favor of the three-fifths rule.

What makes matters even more complicated is that Gibson is close to Thompson, and may push for his endorsement by the ISFL, since labor is so disenchanted with Democratic contender Adlai Stevenson. Thompson has even been quoted by ERA sources as defending his switch on the three-fifths rule as reflecting Gibson's position.

Thompson is now stumbling over his ethics—dubious uses of campaign funds and heavy-handed promotion of his wife, a lawyer with little experience, as a federal judge. But his ERA stance could hurt as well. A down-state TV poll recently showed Thompson and Stevenson even with 42 percent, but Thompson did worse with women, polling only 39 percent. "The women's vote could make a difference in Thompson's re-election," National Organization for Women (NOW) state president Linda Miller says.

Even if ERA makes it through Illinois and then wins in Florida, the last state will be tough to get. North and South Carolina are considered possibilities because of strong pro-ERA state organizations. Georgia's house killed ERA earlier this year, and it was voted down, but not out, in Oklahoma. In Missouri, it was bottled up in a subcommittee when a chairman converted a four-to-three vote in favor of reporting it out to a four-to-four tie, a peculiar parliamentary move. Then, of course, ERA's fate also hangs on the appeal of judge Marion Callister's ruling that states could reverse their previous ratification of ERA that is pending before the Supreme Court.

In the final months, pro-ERA groups are cranking up TV and radio campaigns and pulling out all stops. The outlook isn't cheering, but Miller reflects the campaigners' dogged persistence when she says, "We are just not willing to say it's dead."

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

(ISSN 0160-5992)



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This issue (Vol. 6, No 21) published April 21, 1982, for newsstand sales April 21-27, 1982.

Outlaw economy thrives under Reagan

By Thomas Brom

OAKLAND, CA

AS HE CLIMBS DOWN A LADDER from the roof of the house, Johannes says he can do the work, no problem, and he can do it cheaper than the first roofer I talked to. Then with a slight hesitation, he asks if it's O.K. to pay him in cash.

By now I know the ropes of the housing rehab underground—half the East Bay seems to eke out a marginal existence in it. The former owner of this old house literally put the place together by trading his chiropractic services for house painting, electrical work and a new back porch. Sure, I say, no problem.

Every year around tax day the press is filled with anecdotes like this about tax cheats and tax scams, invariably pulled off by little guys like Johannes who are hiding "self-employment" income. But the current recession, nine million unemployed and the Reagan administration's social welfare cutbacks have changed all that. What had formerly been the dishonesty of the few has become a true underground economy of the unemployed and the underemployed—an economy of last resort beneath President Reagan's threadbare safety net.

America's underground ranges from drug dealing to kickbacks, from working "off the books" in sweatshops and farm fields to bartering goods and services. It runs on cash or trade, permitting the poor to survive and the moonlighting middle class to stay just ahead of the bill collector. Beyond the reach of the IRS, the underground gives one more tax shelter to the rich and free enterprise welfare to the poor.

"The people I see can't survive now on general assistance payments and food stamps," says Dolores Lopez, an eligibility worker at the Alameda County Social Service Agency. "Everybody knows they do something to get by, but we don't ask a lot of questions."

The underground has long existed in Western Europe, where it is known as the "black economy" in England and France, and it amounts to about 30 percent of the gross national product in Italy. But only recently have the IRS and university economists admitted that it exists in the U.S. Estimates of its current size range from \$330 billion to \$700 billion, or more than one-quarter of the gross national product.

"Like the wind," says tax policy director Vito Tanzi of the International Monetary Fund, "the underground economy may be hidden from the eye, but its pressure is now very much felt."

But the existence and size of the underground economy is far less important than the lessons now being drawn from its "discovery." Economists Peter Gutmann of Baruch College and Edgar Feige of the University of Wisconsin believe the existence of a thriving cash economy proves that the above-ground version is doing much better than official statistics indicate. "The economic patient," Feige says, "is much healthier than we imagine."

The financial press has seized on the findings of Gutmann, Feige and others to justify the administration's slashes in job training and social welfare programs. A recent issue of *Business Week* announced that "the gross national product is much higher than the numbers say, productivity is not declining as most economists believe, the savings rate is more robust than is commonly thought and the unemployment rate is a lot lower than what the Labor Department reports." The editors concluded that "one reason special government programs to increase employment in low-income areas in the early '70s

resulted in thousands of unfilled slots was that many of these people were already in the subterranean economy."

At the close of the Carter administration, bannering the wonders of the underground economy seemed a dangerous ideological game. Just talking about it raised important questions about the ability of the official economy to meet people's needs. Economists Gutmann and Feige were regarded as cranks, partly because they challenged the sacrosanct figures of the Labor Department and the Commerce Department's Bureau of Economic Analysis and partly because of their methodology. Using circumstantial evidence showing an increase in cash relative to checking account deposits, Gutmann estimated the underground to represent \$200 billion in 1978. Feige followed with a \$700 billion estimate that earned him a front-page column in the *Wall Street Journal* but was dismissed by his colleagues as far off the mark.

But the Reagan administration and respectable economists slowly warmed to the idea last year. The Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta reported that productivity in illegal shows was unusually high, and that the underground economy had increased by 80 percent during the '70s. After years of denying that tax evasion was a serious problem, the IRS discovered it was losing \$8 billion a year in taxes on unreported income of nearly \$100 billion.

A "healthy" underground had distinct ideological advantages for the beleaguered supply-siders in Washington. Discovery of a thriving underclass lets the administration off the hook for being heartless toward the poor—after all, many of them already have jobs. It neatly counters disturbing official figures from the Commerce Department that describe a declining gross national product, declining productivity and declining prospects for a quick economic recovery. It doubles the



America's underground ranges from drug dealing to kickbacks, from working "off the books" in sweatshops and farm fields to bartering goods and services.

national savings rate to 9.4 percent—a difference of \$75 billion. And it even holds out the hope that if the IRS can capture some of the unreported income, the administration could reduce its estimated \$100 billion budget deficit for 1983 by more than half.

But if the Reagan administration is moving toward tacit endorsement of the underground economy it is doing so in a hurching and contradictory way. Certainly high unemployment combined with cutbacks in social programs create the conditions forcing people underground. But if the subterranean economy is to function, law enforcement and the IRS



Steve Kogan

have to wink at it—and the Federal Reserve Bank has to produce enough cash to lubricate it. The Reagan administration seems deeply divided on these questions, suggesting it is not really interested in encouraging the underground, but merely in explaining away the official data on the rapidly deteriorating economy.

The first policy contradiction involves law enforcement. Economists Carl Simon of Michigan State University and Ann Witte of the University of North Carolina estimate the illegal portion of the underground economy at \$125 billion. Although that figure includes gambling, loan sharking, pornography and prostitution, the largest category is the \$45 billion drug trade.

If the administration wanted to encourage the underground, it could permit the drug trade to expand. Instead, it has assigned the FBI to drug enforcement for the first time in its history, sent U.S. Naval vessels into the nightly con-

tem for the underground economy since it runs almost exclusively on cash. Without fresh infusions of that liquidity, the out-law economy grinds to a halt.

But so far the administration's efforts on these two fronts haven't had much effect. According to the Federal Reserve Bank, cash circulation in the U.S. amounted to \$542 per capita last year, nearly matching the black-market days of World War II. And despite billions of dollars in government expense, drug enforcement agencies still haven't curbed the growth of the cocaine, marijuana and heroin trades.

Reagan seems to want it both ways—let the unemployed fend for themselves, but don't permit the monetary or legal conditions for the underground economy to grow. The result could be social dynamite before the end of his administration.

There may be yet one more reason for the sudden popularization of the outlaw economy in the business press. The existence of pervasive tax cheating and tax avoidance in the U.S. provides a rationale for introduction of the value-added tax (VAT), a form of national sales tax championed by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) The tax is designed to replace existing graduated income and Social Security taxes.

Business Week concluded its article on the underground economy by saying, "Some economists argue that the growth of the underground economy could be halted and even reversed if the U.S. were to move away from the income tax and toward a national sales tax."

But this type of speculation, fundamentally ignores the condition of the people who work in the underground. With the exception of professionals who don't report consulting work, executives who skim profits and a few wealthy drug dealers, the outlaw economy is populated by America's underclass—"discouraged"

traband wars off the South Florida coast and proposed spraying paraquat on home-grown marijuana fields.

The second policy contradiction involves the Treasury Department's blind faith in tight money. The president's men have taken the monetarist philosophy to its logical conclusion, using computers to count each dollar in the economy every Friday night. The idea is to control the supply rather than the cost of money, even if resulting high interest rates demolish the nation's housing industry and prevent expansion of the private sector.

That policy creates an enormous prob-

wage workers who fall off the statistical charts. Whether in Italy, England or the U.S., these people are more or less permanently outside the corporate economy. And when times are tight, their ranks swell.

Johannes the roofer worked in the underground for two years before he incorporated, paid his business tax and license and hired a crew. Last fall he laid off the crew, and he is now considering returning to the underground. "I made more money on my own than I did as a business," he says. "It's crazy. But now there's almost no work at all. I just hope I can wait it out."

Steve Kogan

IN SHORT

Give peace a dance

The party was already in full swing when a newcomer announced, "Fifty thousand marched for peace today." Much dancing ensued, although wine intake also had something to do with the festivity. As it turned out, crowd estimates for the April 10 Peace Walk in Chicago ranged from about 20,000 (the press) to 25,000-35,000 (the organizers). (The police tallied 25,000, presumably not counting the two cops accused of illegal surveillance—more on that below.) At any rate, the protest was a major one, bringing more than 100 groups together to form the largest peace coalition the city has seen. After marching eight abreast—in chilly, damp weather that marked Chicago's first attempt at spring—those gathered at the downtown rally heard streamlined speeches by Studs Terkel, Steelworker Ed Sadlowski, Rep. Harold Washington (D-Chicago) and clergy of various persuasions.

"It's important to say that two middle-aged women started it," said Shirley Lens, a schoolteacher who chairs the group Women for Peace. When Lens and Pearl Hirshfield, a local artist, thought up the April 10 peace walk, they decided to bring in as wide a range of sponsors as possible. They also borrowed the original 1961 organizing them of Women for Peace: "End the Arms Race. Save the human race." Then, in a weekend of phone calls, they convinced the participating organizations to organize heavily for the Peace Walk in their own constituencies. "And that's exactly how it came to pass," Lens said. "Most of the organizers had never even been involved in a peace march before."

"Our theme," she added, "was disarmament—not freeze."

Nobody said "cheese"

About that charge of police surveillance at the Chicago action: According to the *Chicago Tribune*, attorney Richard Gutman has filed a suit to that effect against the Chicago Police Department (motto: "We serve and protect"). Gutman noticed two officers who apparently were neither serving nor protecting. "Throughout the rally," he said, "a team of two men conducted film-photographic surveillance of the participants and speakers at the rally from the roof of the Loop post office. One man used a motion-picture camera mounted on a tripod and the other man took photographs." "After the rally was over," Gutman added, "the two guys came down from the roof, and I followed them until they got into a marked Chicago police car."

Such behavior seemed to violate a federal court order barring political, "Red Squad"-style spying by the Chicago police. Gutman has asked that the City of Chicago and all police officers involved be held in contempt for violating the order, and that the city be fined a "substantial" sum of money as a deterrent to further violations. "We would have no objection if there had been some suspicion that there would have been violence," Gutman said. "But there was no reason to take pictures of this demonstration."

Health dare

A strike by an 85-member independent nurses' union, Steve Askin reports, is drawing wide support from the largest AFL-CIO unions in Washington, D.C. The nurses virtually shut down non-emergency services at the city's biggest health care organization—the 113,000-member, consumer-owned Group Health Association (GHA). They have demanded that GHA expand its staff and raise wages to match other large health facilities, some of which pay \$2,000 to \$3,000 more a year.

Swelling the picketline at a recent strike rally were 200 union supporters representing, among others, service employees, teachers, government employees, football players and transit workers. But even before the nurses walked out, friendly unions were giving them free printing services and advice on strategy. In the strike's first week, the city's central labor council warned that it will ask unionists to withdraw from GHA unless a settlement is quickly reached. (That threat remains a potent one, because unionized federal workers—probably GHA's largest membership bloc—can switch health plans during an "open season" that begins on May 3.) Labor is also organizing support for several unionists who are running for GHA's board of trustees in impending elections.

The nurses' staffing demand has helped win them support from individual GHA members as well. The agency's notorious understaffing has led to long waits for routine medical care and crippled its once-renowned preventive health program. GHA member Askin, for example, waited nearly two months for his last checkup.

Regan loses his chains

From the *Wall Street Journal*, April 2: "Rep. [Jack] Kemp [R-N.Y.], at a House hearing yesterday, asked Treasury chief [Donald T.] Regan for his reaction to two quotes on monetary policy. Regan said: 'I'd have to agree with the first; I don't understand the second.' Then Kemp sprang the trap. The first quote came from Karl Marx, the second from this year's report of the Council of Economic Advisors."

—Josh Kornbluth



Photos of the April 10 Peace Walk from three vantage points (see "Give peace a dance"). Top: find the cops.



Council won't fight City Hall

TAKOMA PARK, MD—Last month, voters in this city of 14,000, located a few miles northeast of the White House, re-elected 73-year-old left activist Sam Abbott as mayor. At the same time, Abbott supporters broke the grip of a conservative majority on the Takoma Park City Council that had stalemated city politics since Abbott was first elected mayor two years ago. They won five out of six contested races against anti-Abbott incumbents, giving them five out of seven Council seats.

Abbott had won the 1980 election with 40 percent of the vote in a three-way race against two conservative candidates. This time he won nearly 60 percent in a head-to-head race with one of those 1980 candidates, Ronald J. Wylie. A Republican lawyer on the staff of the White House Conference on Aging, Wylie attacked Abbott's "confrontation tactics" and outspokenness on national issues.

"How radical is Sam Abbott?" asked one pro-Wylie flyer, comparing Abbott to "Eugene Debs, Norman Thomas and the IWW." Abbott's an-



swer: "Debs—on his best days, O.K. Thomas—too conservative. Wobblies—a little too anarcho-syndicalist, but I liked their style."

Abbott leaped into labor and community organizing in the '30s, and has never stopped. In the '50s he one-upped the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in testimony straight out of Martin Ritt's *The Front*. Asked whether cartoons in the left press attacking HUAC were his doing, for example, Abbott—an artist and designer by profession—answered, "There are so many cartoonists lampooning this committee, I couldn't tell you." Asked if he had ever run for Congress on a left-wing ticket, he assured that "running for Congress is no crime"—Abbott told HUAC chairman Harold Velde, "Looking at this committee, I'm not so sure about that."

In the '60s Abbott led the fight that halted construction of Interstate 95 through Takoma Park and downtown Washington. Scorning sweet talk and "going through channels," Abbott mobilized Takoma Park senior citizens to lie down in front of bulldozers—behind him.

In the '70s Abbott turned to city politics and—seizing on local school and tax issues—began building a base of support to run for office. In 1978 Abbott lost a race for mayor of Takoma Park by eight votes. He won in 1980, but faced a 7-0 conservative wall in the City Council.

That would change. In the election that put Abbott in office, voters approved a shift from city-wide to ward-based elections. "Sam's people," as his committed supporters are known, went to work. An unusual coalition of senior citizens from the '60s highway fights, blacks, Hispanics and young white liberals and leftists began developing neighborhood-based networks to prepare for the 1982 elections.

Abbott campaigned openly against racism, Reagan and Reaganomics ("kneecapping the working class," he called it). Criticized by Wylie for "trying to become a national figure," Abbott refused to pull in his horns. He attacked nuclear weapons, nuclear power and nuclear waste disposal, endorsed a nuclear arms freeze and called for the U.S. to aid the anti-government forces in El Salvador. At the same time, "Sam" (nobody calls him anything else) and the pro-Abbott candidates for Coun-

cil pounded away on local issues.

Now Sam Abbott is a majority mayor with a majority City Council to work with. Mr. Reagan, meet Mr. Abbott—in your own back yard.—Lance Compa

Data Center tracks facts

OAKLAND, CA—When the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' national office needed facts on plant closings, there was only one place to call—the Data Center. When East Chicago steelworkers wanted a corporate profile of the industry, they ordered it from the Data Center. And when local community groups started an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan in California, they came first to the Data Center.

Director Harry Strharsky calls it "hunting and gathering"—special press searches for organizers, writers and activists—and nobody does it better than the staff of this alternative library in downtown Oakland. On April 1, the Data Center celebrated its fifth anniversary amid 5,000 square feet of press clips, hundreds of bound volumes, 400 different periodicals and a new mini-computer from Radio Shack.

"We started in 1977 on a budget of \$12,000 and two people sharing one job," Strharsky says. "This year's budget is a quarter of a million dollars. We've got 15 paid staff, another 15 volunteers and 400 members. There's really no other place labor and community groups can go for contract research."

In recent months, the Data Center has produced 100-page corporate profiles for more than 40 unions, many of them spurred to action by the threat of plant closings. The "plant shut-downs monitor"—originally a special search project—has become a monthly subscription service for dozens of union locals.

"It's a weird irony that we've expanded because of Reagan," comments staff member Bill Berkowitz. "The profiles we do put facts together so people can see the patterns in the news."

The core of the Data Center library is its Latin America collection, donated by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) when it closed its West Coast office in 1977. The following year writer Paul Jacobs donated his extensive labor and atomic energy library—"about 120 board-feet of books," according to Strharsky. Since then, 60 other organizations and individuals have donated files, swamping the Center's storage space but providing

an impressive cross-section of the left over the past two decades.

Currently, the Center's major projects are Information Services on Latin America (ISLA), profiles on nearly 200 corporations, press profiles on subjects ranging from the New Right to the Reagan foreign policy and customized information services. Among the 30 organizational members are Teamsters local 853, *Mother Jones* magazine, the Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office and KPFA radio.

The Data Center is located at 464 19th Street, Oakland, CA 94612. —Thomas Brom

Lakotas' camp is staying put

THE BLACK HILLS, SD—The Lakota Indians, who have occupied a section of South Dakota's Black Hills in an attempt to reclaim their ancestral lands and to protect the area from uranium mining, celebrated the first anniversary of their Yellow Thunder Camp early this month. The camp's 50 residents, including 10 whites, weathered a harsh winter, living in tipis and cooking over large communal fires.

The occupied part of the Black Hills is considered a national forest by the government and has been designated a "national sacrifice area" for emergency energy needs. In 1980 the Supreme Court ruled that the Black Hills were taken from the Lakota Nation improperly, but the Lakotas refused a government award of \$122.5 million, saying they wanted the land back. Now the Forest Service is suing for the eviction of the Yellow Thunder Camp, while residents of the camp say they will not leave the Black Hills even if ordered to do so.

Bruce Ellison, an attorney for the camp, claims that a deputy U.S. marshal told him last fall that a so-called Special Operations Group, similar to a SWAT (Special Weapons Attack Team), had completed a two-week special training course on evacuating the camp.

Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), with 26 co-sponsors, has introduced a bill to the House Interior Committee that would permit the Yellow Thunder Camp to remain for 10 years, as an experiment. In the meantime, camp residents and their supporters continue to pray to the spirits of the hills, to honor fire and water and earth and air as sacred, and to watch for the needs of the "four-leggeds, the winged and those that crawl or swim."

—Jeanie Wylie

Frank Fools Crow, an elder of the Lakota Nation



ROTC is making lots of college-goers offers that they can't refuse.

Briefing: Students on the march

Ronald Reagan's jingoistic foreign policy is scoring some of its most direct hits here at home, on university campuses. Students seeking government aid for tuition and professors seeking funds for research are finding that they must either march to a military tune or march in protest.

The Army alone enlisted some 50 additional schools in its Reserve Officers' Training Corps program last year. Total ROTC enrollment nationwide topped 100,000 for the first time since the war in Vietnam. Some see this as resurgent patriotism, but with the president moving to decimate the Guaranteed Student Loan program—he wants to raise the interest rate for undergraduates and to exclude graduate students altogether—committing themselves to future paid military service may be the only way some students can finance their college education.

You can be sure that the Defense Department will be handing out more and more ROTC scholarships: 26,500 are planned for fiscal 1983, up 23 percent from this year. In these times, could you walk away from an offer worth \$8,000 a year?

The massive cutting in both state and federal aid programs isn't the whole problem for students. Tuition at most public and private higher education institutions will rise 15 percent or more this coming fall—thus outpacing inflation.

The cutbacks are hardly radicalizing mass numbers of students, but veteran campus observers say they are seeing more organizing efforts get off the ground today than at any time in the past decade. Numerous universities have seen protests of tuition hikes in recent months. In early March, the United States Student Association (USSA) and eight other student groups sponsored a lobbying drive and protest rally in Washington. Several

thousand students besieged their senators and representatives with demands to stop the cuts, then gathered on the Capitol steps to shout, "Books, not bombs!"

And the USSA is not stopping with one day's work in Washington. The group is setting up a student Political Action Committee and will push voter registration drives on campuses around the country this spring.

Congress, for its part, is showing some signs of the election-year jitters. Several House Republicans have broken ranks with Reagan over the higher education cuts, and the House Appropriations Committee voted in late March to allocate \$325 million more than the president had requested for Guaranteed Student Loans this year.

Instead of organizing around the issue of aid cuts and criticizing the Pentagon's budget only tangentially, some members of the university community are trying to tackle campus militarism head on. "By financing more and more military projects and cutting back everywhere else, the Reagan administration is trying to force universities to collaborate in its preparations for war," says Sam Day, a member of the Madison, Wis., Peace Conversion Project.

Day offers statistics to back up his claim: Reagan's 1983 budget request would increase Defense Department support of university research by more than \$100 million from current record-high levels, according to a recent report by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Yet overall federal funding on research will have dropped nearly 10 percent since the president took office.

In the mold of Bret Eynon's work for the University of Michigan Student Assembly—he charged some scientists with

violating U of M's ban on research that aims to kill ("In Short," Feb. 17)—peace-seekers at several other schools are pressing officials to discuss surges in military-funded activity. At Iowa State University, a coalition of religious and political groups has presented an extensive report protesting a Pentagon-funded study of nerve gas. ISU scientist William Kernan Jr. says he is merely working to develop antidotes to nerve gas, but opponents have initiated debate, on campus and in several state newspapers, with a counter-argument: developing a "cure" lends support to the idea that chemical warfare is a reasonable military option in the first place and will only fuel the chemical arms race. They also point out that an antidote is a prerequisite to any offensive capability, since both attacker and attacked would be exposed to the toxin.

In general, university officials who court the Pentagon purse try to make their military research palatable by calling it "basic." Rutgers University president Edward Bloustein, a noted solicitor of the new military money, has said that Pentagon contracts have "nothing to do with weapons" and "serve civilian needs no less than Department of Defense needs."

But the Peace Center of Central Jersey recently called Bloustein's bluff, pointing out that one contract was titled "Thermal Stress in a Gun Barrel." In the wake of the revelation, 14 campus groups formed a coalition to protest military research at Rutgers. The students interrupted an early-April Board of Governors' meeting by reading a statement of their position and then breaking toy machine guns.

The Peace Center's Bob Nasdor acknowledges that the university may well continue doing weapons research anyhow, but says the coalition is still effective: "They don't have a free hand anymore."

—Brooks Egerton

Brooks Egerton, a regular "In Short" contributor, is a freelance writer in Madison, Wis.

IN THE NATION

UAW

By David Moberg

DORAVILLE, GA

THE DOGWOOD SCENT IS IN the spring air and the kids are out on the baseball diamonds. But judging from the comments of autoworkers coming from the General Motors (GM) plant here in the days after the approval of a new contract, the seasonal sentiment might be something like "there is no joy in Doraville, the mighty UAW has struck out."

The 5,000-member local here rejected the UAW contract by a lopsided 84 percent majority—2,308 no to 435 yes—but nationally passed by the slimmest margin that anyone could recall—52 percent in favor, or 114,468 to 105,090. In many unions, members do not have the right to vote on their contracts, but even in those that do such a close vote is extremely rare. The militant coal miners, sensitive to the slightest nuance of contract language and jealous of their hard-won gains, have stood out in recent contract talks by rejecting initial agreements approved by their bargainers.

In the UAW the immediate consequence, other than some potential challenges to the vote count, is likely to be hardened negotiating positions on the local contract concessions that GM had planned to win. Also, in many plants there will be additional layoffs immediately as the company trims back the workforce of relief workers who filled in for the nine Paid Personal Holidays (PPH) workers had each year in what was originally intended as a job-protecting reduction in the workweek.

But starting with the initial low margin of approval, there is a good chance of increased disgruntlement as some of the contract's features—such as the punitive absentee control program—begin to bite and as GM reports its expected fairly healthy profits. Internal union politics may also heat up.

Yet the top leadership of the UAW is not really threatened. UAW president Douglas Fraser will retire after this term. The next president is likely to be picked in the tortured backroom negotiations of the Administration Caucus, which has the support of nearly all of UAW officialdom.

"Because of our structure, the contract probably won't have that much effect" on the internal politics of succession, said UAW member Joe Finkbeiner, editor of the *Lansing Labor News*. Tony Fernandez, president of the Linden, N.J., local that rejected the contract by an 84 percent majority, noted that it would be hard for anyone other than an executive board member to make a bid for the presidency.

Political problems.

But there may still be political problems for the leadership. The Canadian division had opposed both early talks and concessions and now will negotiate independently. Some of them are threatening to bolt from the UAW. And opposition to concessions at the local level could keep alive a very loose network of critics of the contract. "Locals Opposed to Concessions will stay in place," said Pete Kelly, chairman of the design unit at the GM Tech center. "We have gained tremendous contacts and credibility. This question of fighting concessions will be with us for two-and-a-half years"—the duration of the contract.

The very difficult position faced by the union in this year's negotiations, with vast changes wrought by an international reorganization of the auto industry, new product design and more automated technology exacerbated by a long, deep recession in auto, has left the union divided and without a popular, coherent



Close vote means a turbulent future

strategy for confronting its problems.

That division is neatly dramatized by the evaluations of the contract by two recently elected, perceptive union presidents on opposite sides of Atlanta—and opposite sides of the contract.

L.E. Bunch, president of Local 34, the Lakewood GM plant where Chevettes are built, was part of the national bargaining committee. At the assembly plant, where 3,500 people have been laid off and only 1,500 are still working, the contract narrowly won by a margin of 1,068 to 934, but in the parts depot that is also part of the local workers turned it down 408 to 116.

"Nobody ever likes concessions," Bunch said. "Things like giving up PPH are distasteful to all of us. But on job security we opened doors, and as a brotherhood we put some of our brothers and sisters back to work. We have the right to discuss the possibility of bringing back suppliers' outsourced work. Utopian language would be that they couldn't outsource."

"We had a decision to make—go in today and stop the hemorrhage in the business or watch plants close and jobs go to scab labor. Then there was the alternative in September of striking or working without an agreement. There are people who disagree with the procedure, but not one time has any local leader advocated an alternative as good as this. All the others led to a strike," in which Bunch felt GM would have the upper hand.

He argued that GM made its slim profit on its credit operations alone last year, that stockholders needed a solid return to stay with the company and that the company needs money to retool and be competitive. Moreover, "pattern bargaining has always been the method. Once Ford set the pattern, lots of things were tied to it."

But Steve Drummond, president of the Doraville Local 10—where work has been steady for two shifts making mid-sized front wheel drive Buicks and Oldsmobiles—saw things differently: "I believe that if our people felt GM was going under there would have been no problems with concessions," he said. "But GM is making money."

But Drummond was also critical of the trade-off and the job security proposals. "I'm not impressed with the language and guarantees, because they're

The union's tough predicament in this year's negotiations has robbed it of a unified strategy.

not guarantees. You're talking about taking GM's word and GM doesn't keep its word." He said he doubted that the funding of the Guaranteed Income Stream—limited to \$175 million liability for the company—was sufficient, though he liked the idea.

But the loss of PPH days particularly angered him. "We're interested in putting people back to work, but every plant will lose people. In my plant it will affect 250 to 300 people."

At the Lordstown, Ohio, plant, where only 4,000 workers are currently employed, 5,876 voted and the margin was nearly four-to-one against. "People on layoff were voting no," zone committeeman Paul Cubellis said. "That's because there's no job security whatsoever we could see, especially for laid-off workers."

Local 10 shop chairman C.E. "Stonewall" Jackson was very disappointed that either GM or the local could reopen the local contract, and that the local has no right to strike. "So I can't see where we've got any bargaining power to force a settlement," he said. That may make it difficult to clear up the traditional backlog of grievances.

Even more, he fears that the company will be gunning for local rules that give workers some power and chance at greater job satisfaction, such as limiting transfer rights (or in other plants limiting shift preference rights or cutting back on relief time).

The competitive edge.

"This provision for 'the competitive edge' really scares me," Jackson said. "They'll attempt to use it here by saying in Oklahoma, when they start building the Olds and Buick there, that they're building it cheaper and that if we don't get the costs down here, Oklahoma will get all our production. You can imagine what that will lead to."

GM's chief negotiator Alfred S. Warren made the corporation viewpoint clear in comments to the *Wall Street Journal*. It may take two-and-a-half years, he said, but "every operation we have has to be looked at. Unless we pull every stop there is, we can't get all the money we need." At some plants, he said, changes in work rules could save the company as much as \$5 an hour in labor costs. Despite the vague contract language about attempting to maintain the same number of employees and not closing plants due to outsourcing, Warren told the *Journal* that GM would essentially pit its plants against foreign and domestic alternative suppliers to make plants "competitive."

Although it will be hard to determine the exact meaning of the vote until detailed local tallies are available, the preliminary results show most big assembly plants opposed, often by wide margins. Where unemployment was high, where there were partial layoffs or plant closings were threatened, the vote often was favorable or more evenly split. Preliminary reports suggest some small parts plants, possibly feeling vulnerable, voted more favorably. But the almost evenly split vote in Indiana, where there are mainly parts plants, indicated it was not universal. Heavy international union influence, in addition to unemployment, may have shifted votes in Michigan. But where locals had strong opposition organization—such as the Linden, N.J., plant where there was an extensive educational campaign about the economics of the industry—no votes tended to be heavier.

Both GM and UAW negotiators had hailed the new contract as opening a new era in collective bargaining and a new era of cooperation, but the vote—and the sentiments—in the local unions suggest that a renewed era of conflict may be just as likely.

Earl Dotter/American Labor Education Center

IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Victory next door, defeat at home?

By Fred Halliday

LONDON

IRAN'S SPECTACULAR VICTORY USING nighttime assault tactics against the Iraqi Fourth Army Corps has resulted in the recapture of most of the Iranian territory held by Iraq and in the seizure and killing of many thousands of Iraqi soldiers. Yet this victory poses Iran with the classic dilemma facing all who seek to impose terms on a defeated aggressor: If they restrict themselves to expelling the Iraqis from Iran, there is no guarantee that the Iranians will be able to impose their terms. These include acceptance of the pre-existing frontier, compensation for war damage and an Iraqi admission of guilt.

If, however, the Iranians push on into Iraq, they may give the government of President Saddam Hussein a new legitimacy, encourage other Arab states to become involved on Iraq's side and deprive Iran of its greatest advantage in the international context—that Iran has been the victim of an invasion.

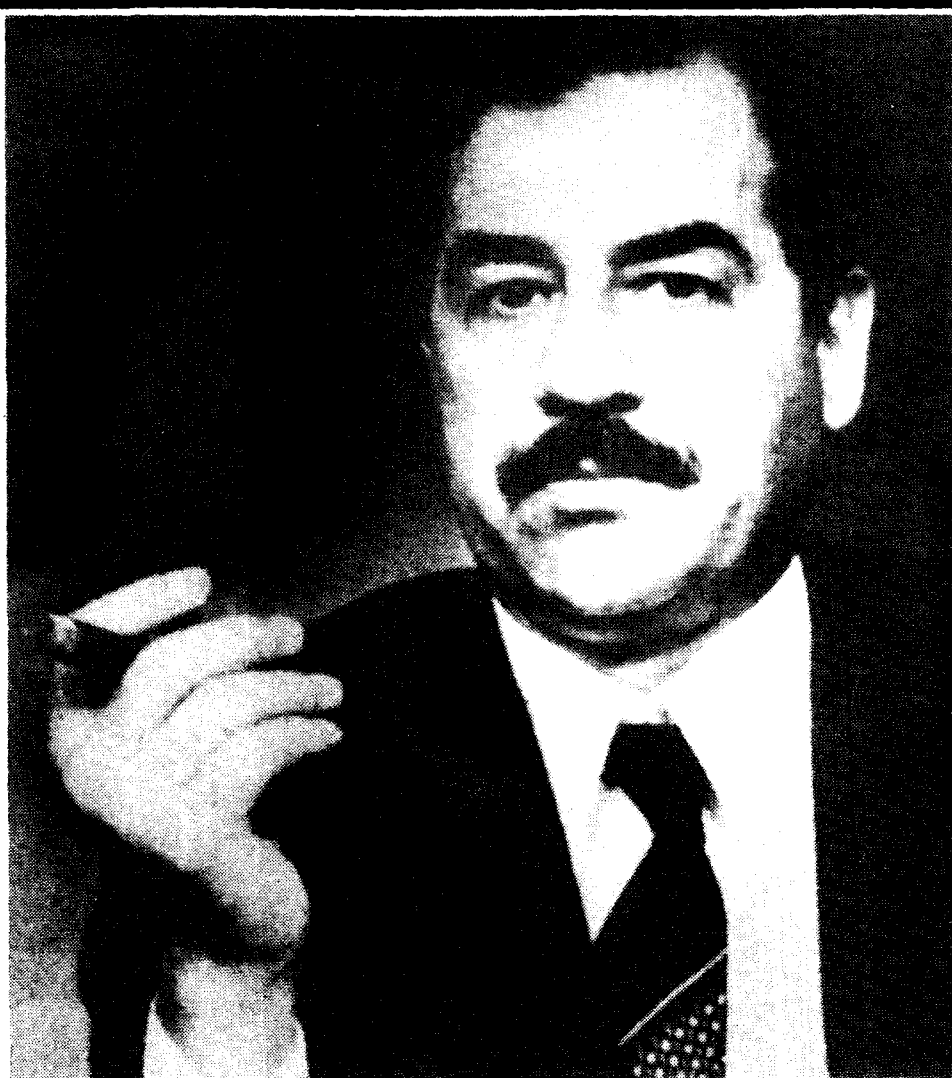
The Iranians have given conflicting indications on what they plan to do, whether by design or because of divisions among their own leaders. Last week Khomeini congratulated Iran's army, and dismissed claims that Iran wanted to

...if the Iranians push on into Iraq, and the invader becomes the invaded.

invade other countries. But he called for the "punishment" of Hussein, and said he looked forward to what he termed "the toppling of satanic banners."

The Iranians can see that the conflict, known to Iraqis as "Saddam's war," is increasingly unpopular in Iraq, and that the government's policy of masking its impact by a flood of imported consumer goods has failed. No amount of TVs and frozen meat can hide the coffins. A black market in the Iraqi dinar has developed and Baathist Party officials have put most of the \$20 billion loaned to them by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait on deposit in Swiss banks as insurance against a possible overthrow of the regime. Tehran's calculations are complicated by the fact that although there is much opposition inside Iraq, no unified opposition organizations exist. Both Iran and Iraq have accompanied their bloody war with sustained carnage of opponents at home, and in Iran thousands of members of the underground Shi'ite group al-Da'wah have been shot since the war began in September 1980.

Al-Da'wah is now much weaker, and Tehran has tended to back a rival group, the Mojahidin of Islam. In Kurdistan, where Baghdad has been forced to pull out two of the four divisions stationed there, three separate groups are fighting a guerrilla campaign, and the Iraqi Communist Party has taken advantage of the



Ironically, the military setback may give the government of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein a new legitimacy...

loosening of government power to start its political and military activities. For its part, Syria—Iraq's rival for dominance in the pan-Arab Baathist movement—has its own candidates to replace Saddam Hussein.

The Baghdad government has tried to rally the Shi'ite Arabs who make up half of the Iraqi population by invoking on

its side the traditions of martyrdom to which Khomeini also appeals. Khomeini and his associates certainly hope that their religiously based appeals will transcend whatever patriotic sentiments Iraqi Shi'ites may have. But the most likely alternative to Saddam is not a revolt from below but a coup within the Baath leadership itself—perhaps one that would bring back Saddam's uncle, former President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr. He was replaced in 1979 and has conspicuously failed to endorse his nephew's rash war with Iran. Though in poor health, he may be fit enough to preside over a transitional government.

A second wind.

The victories over Iraq may create other problems inside Iran. Khomeini's regime has certainly gotten a second wind and has to some degree consolidated itself after the clashes last summer with supporters of ex-president Bani-Sadr and the Mojahidin guerrillas. The group of mullahs and Islamic Republican Party officials who run the regime seem to have learned quickly how to use political power, and they have constructed a minimal welfare system that holds their urban social base in line. Massive terror—the ex-

Continued on page 10

EUROLEFT

Unity is only a 'nuance' away

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

ALL THAT IS STANDING IN the way of a harmonious Euroleft are a few Alps. Or so it might have seemed at a crowded March 30 press conference in Paris at the end of a full day of "warm" talks between French Socialist Party (PS) first secretary Lionel Jospin and visiting Italian Communist Party (PCI) secretary-general Enrico Berlinguer.

The two party leaders discovered "broad" areas of agreement, and if some "nuances" still separated their

viewpoints (the word "disagreement" was avoided), Jospin suggested this might be only because they had not had time in their eight steady hours of fascinating conversation to go more deeply into certain points.

Agreement was most intense on the need to find a "third way" to democratic socialism, rejecting the Soviet model but going beyond the reforms practiced up to now by social democracy. The French Socialists and Italian Communists agreed that the working-class movements and left forces of Western Europe must play leading roles in this process. They agreed on refusing "the logic of blocs" and on the need to cooperate with progressive forces in third world coun-

tries to transform North-South relations.

But "nuances" appeared when it came to the subject of international security. In particular, Jospin and Berlinguer had different ideas about the balance of forces in Europe, the orientation of Soviet foreign policy and the European peace movement.

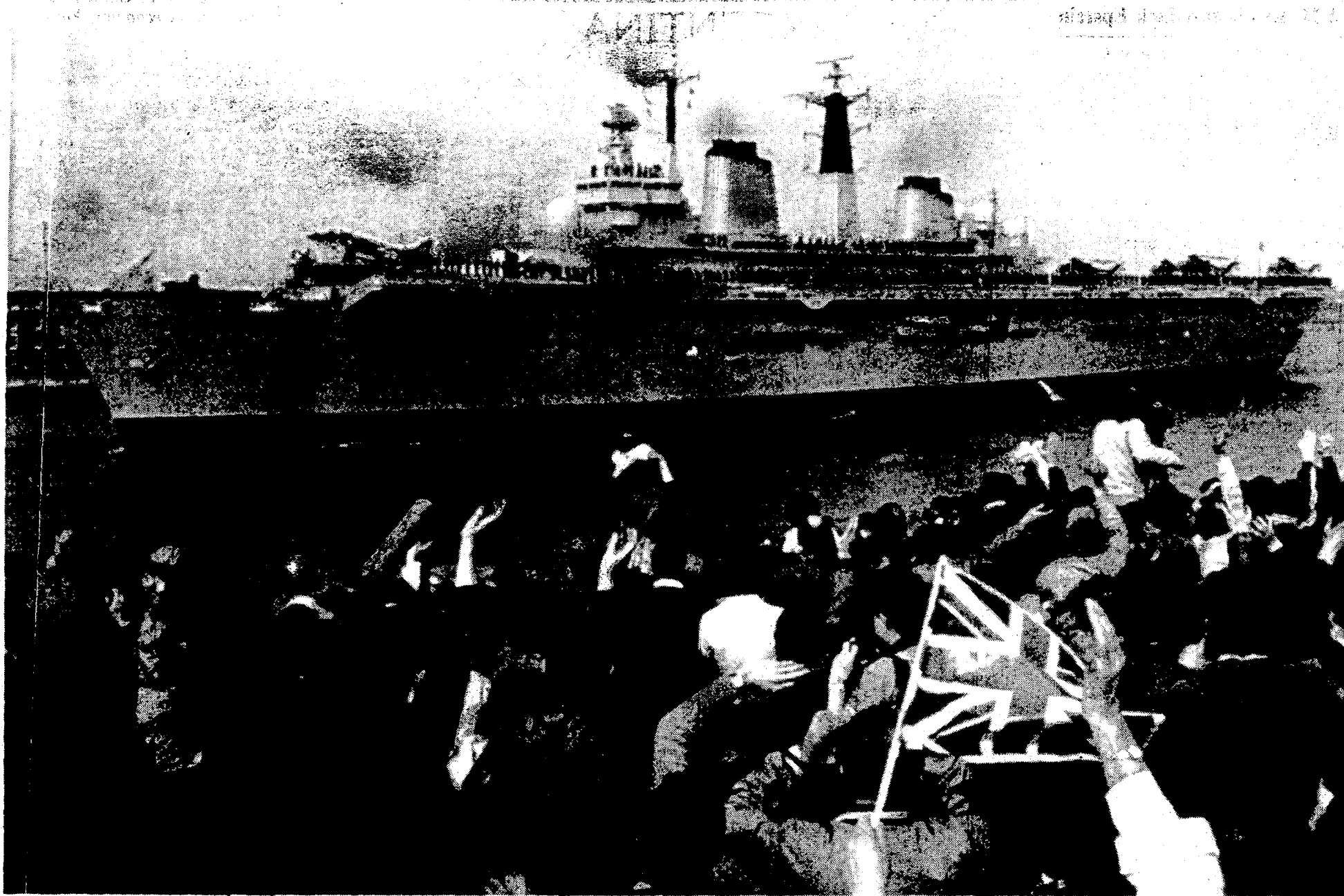
Jospin said his party believed the Soviet Union had upset the balance in Europe by installing its SS-20 missiles (this contention has been virtually unchallenged in the French press, whereas in other Western countries it is at least considered debatable). Berlinguer did not rule this out, but suggested that figuring nuclear balance was very complicated and involved more than counting intermediate-

range missiles. In any case, the PCI leader concluded tactfully, there was agreement that even democratic forces in Western Europe felt that the balance had been disturbed. This political fact was reason enough to call on both sides to move toward mutual arms reductions. Berlinguer called attention to the important nuclear arms freeze movement growing in the U.S.

Another "nuance" concerned Soviet intentions. Jospin said a debate was going on inside the PS as to whether there had been a "turning point" in Soviet foreign policy toward military adventurism. The Soviet leadership had long been considered cautious—traumatized by World War II and anxious to preserve the status quo. But he said events since 1975, notably the invasion of Afghanistan, suggested a basic change.

The PCI has also wondered about this, and indeed Berlinguer was accompanied

Continued on page 10



BRITAIN

Thatcher waffles on Falklands...

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

WHETHER OR NOT MARGARET Thatcher frightens the Argentines, she does indeed frighten a great many people here at home. Many believe that the crisis in the Falkland Islands, with human lives at stake, is not safe in the hands of this obstinate and belligerent prime minister.

Thatcher's political strategy is simple: If you stick to your maximum demands, refuse to compromise or consider any alternative and remain unmoved—even when your friends and allies are despairing over your refusal to grasp the elements of diplomacy—you finally get your way. It has worked for her on occasion, notably in the tussle over Britain's contribution to the European Economic Community's (EEC) budget. This time it has to work, for she knows no other way.

Until two weeks ago, no one other than a few stamp collectors even knew where the Falklands were. Nor were they aware that the Union Jack flew over this territory claimed by Argentina. But when General Leopoldo F. Galtieri took power in Argentina, many knowledgeable observers had predicted that he would eventually invade the Falklands. However, the predictions that appeared in short newspaper stories were mostly ignored by busy politicians—certainly by Thatcher and Lord Carrington.

When interviewed after his resignation, Carrington explained frankly that he had put the matter at the bottom of his agenda, estimating that it couldn't begin until late this year. He could hardly be blamed for not taking time to ponder it. So while the Argentine ships were sailing south, he flew to Brussels and Tel Aviv for important meetings. He took the traditionally honorable route, resigning because he

had blundered. No other British minister has chosen this route since 1954, although there have been plenty of blunders. He is a rich man with an ample country estate, so he can look forward to enjoying his leisure.

But there was another reason why Carrington chose to go. Right-wingers in his own party have hated him since he negotiated the independence term for Zimbabwe and allegedly drove out the white community there. It is well known that he had trouble persuading Thatcher to endorse that agreement. Had he clung to office after the Falkland matters, his enemies would have sought revenge.

The day after the April 2 invasion, the House of Commons was caught up in collective outrage, with Labour members shouting as loudly as Tories. It demonstrated that a legislative body is as vulnerable to group emotions as any other crowd. But by the debate on April 14, the atmosphere had changed.

Labour leader Michael Foot backed the decision to dispatch Britain's naval forces. But he warned against "provocative action," and threats that Britain must "go on again and again seeking a peaceful settlement." He argued that the naval force was justified only so far as it persuaded Argentina to withdraw from the Falklands.

As background facts emerge, the picture appears more complex than at first glance. The British inhabitants of the Islands number only 1,800, and it now appears that 400 of them—technicians or teachers—are there on short-term contracts. Moreover, some of them are linked to Argentina and fled there when the trouble started.

There is a much larger British community in Argentina itself. About 18,000 British people live there. And 100,000 more—descendants of British families who dominated the Argentine economy in the 19th century—hold dual citizenship. (It would be easy for the Argen-

tine rulers to round these people up, confiscate their property and put them in internment camps.) Thus they, not the Falklanders, are the real hostages.

Still more embarrassing is the discovery that the Falklanders are not so dear to Thatcher's heart as she now claims. In 1981, her government pushed through a new nationality law that denied Britons overseas full citizenship and the right of free entry to Britain, unless one of their parents had been born there. An amendment to the law exempted the people of Gibraltar from this second-class status. But when Lady Vickers, a conservative member of the House of Lords, moved a similar amendment on behalf of the Falklanders, it was defeated. Even a petition from the Islanders, sent directly to Thatcher, could not change her mind.

Another significant fact is that successive British governments have been trying to reach a compromise with Argentina for the last 20 years. Someone suggested that the Islands, while theoretically being an Argentine territory, could be leased to Britain for a long time—similar to the way the territories of Hong Kong are leased from China. True, the idea drew no favor from either the Argentine government or the Falklanders. Still, there was a definite British willingness to negotiate on the issue of sovereignty. But by April 14, Thatcher was talking about resuming British administration.

The departure of Royal Navy warships from the historic state of Hovfman—with the queen's son aboard—was the best pageant since the royal wedding. Crowds lined the harbor walls as banners reading "Give them hell" were displayed. As so often since Britannia ceased to rule the waves, nostalgia reigned supreme. Hard-headed calculations of a showdown are another matter.

In strictly naval terms, the British fleet is by far more powerful than the Argentine navy. But nothing would be gained from a battle at sea. The Sunday Times said it would be "a short-cut to bloody disaster."

With their land bases, the Argentines are stronger in the air, a point that caused Thatcher some embarrassment in the Commons debate. The two British aircraft carriers do not have enough planes to prevent supply to the Argentine garrison on the Islands and even less with which to bomb the garrison. An attempt to do so, in any case, would destroy Port Stanley and kill people who are supposed

The departure of Royal Navy warships—with the queen's son aboard—was the best pageant since the royal wedding.

to be rescued.

Prospects of a successful invasion are even more dubious. The British fleet is accompanied by only one troop ship, a hastily converted cruiser. Army forces refused to disclose how many men are on board, but it probably is not more than 2,000, while the Argentines probably have close to 10,000 men on the Islands.

As they mull over these considerations, British politicians of all parties are beginning to believe that Britain cannot win this contest by a force of arms and should gladly accept the best compromise that U.S. Secretary of State Haig's shuttle diplomacy can secure. The challenge is to get Thatcher to see it that way.

Commentators have been telling Britons that Galtieri is rallying popular support for his actions to avert attention from internal problems. This is probably true, but the crisis is also a convenient diversion for Thatcher, and comes at a time when she badly needs it. The opponents seem to be as well-matched as Ayatollah Khomeini and Saddam Hussein.

Here at home, unemployment is running about 12 percent, with no end in sight. Recent polls show that Thatcher is the most unpopular prime minister since polling began. The Social Democratic Party has just won another election and its momentum seems unchecked. Except for Chancellor Howe and Defense Secretary Nopp, Thatcher has no whole-hearted supporters in her own cabinet. Indeed, her political weakness is shown by the appointment of Francis Pym as Carrington's successor. He infuriated her recently when he admitted in a speech that the economy was still in trouble, contradicting her claim of an upturn.

It is not easy to dislodge a determined prime minister, but it can be done—especially if the prime minister has gone recklessly out on a limb and has been forced to retreat. In the next election, the Tories would be in better shape with a leader who has kept his distance from Thatcher's more unpopular policies—Pym, or James Prior, whom she exiled to Northern Ireland, are likely candidates.

If the worst happens in the Falklands, Thatcher may find herself wishing that she had resigned as gracefully as Carrington.

Mervyn Jones is a former London correspondent for The Times.

By J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein

BUENOS AIRES

ARGENTINA

...while inflation,
not confrontation,
may do in Galtieri

AS SOON AS ARGENTINA invaded the Falkland Islands, a British colony since 1833, knowledgeable sources speculated that the regime of General Leopoldo F. Galtieri had bitten off more than it could chew. The initial flag waving and festive street scenes displayed the nation's enthusiasm for the action but obscured the very tough conditions apparently behind the military's decision to make its move.

Although the international press latched onto rumors of oil in the waters around the islands as the primary motive for the incursion, that increasingly seems to be a minor consideration. Studies by multi-national energy corporations indicate that petroleum reserves do exist, rumored to be as large as Britain's North Sea fields. But there is still no proof, and at least three nearby exploratory efforts have ended in failure. And because of frequent gale force winds in the area there is even some doubt as to whether drilling platforms could operate safely.

The most likely reason for the Argentine takeover is Galtieri's desperate need to defuse the growing dissatisfaction and anger aimed at his government's ineptness in solving the country's soaring interest rates, 14 percent annual inflation and high and rising unemployment.

Only a week before the takeover, Argentines crowded into the streets to demonstrate their displeasure. Galtieri reportedly was stunned by the size of the protest and saw it as a clear message that the public had had enough of his and his ministers' mismanagement and poor planning.

Argentina once enjoyed the highest standard of living in South America, and by outward appearances it is still a wealthy nation. But lately times have been hard for its population of 28 million. Inflation has forced thousands of workers to hold two, sometimes three, jobs. Interest rates prohibit investment

and encourage an atmosphere of economic and social depression. Productive investment has been replaced by unbridled currency speculation by Argentines who wheel and deal with the hourly rate changes or slap their money in a bank for the weekend to take advantage of 60 percent to 100 percent interest. Predictably, many banks and other businesses have closed.

Even though Galtieri is not directly responsible for the failing economy, which can be traced to the days of dictator Juan Peron's fascist welfare state in the '50s, he and his military colleagues are accused of doing little if anything in the four months since they deposed General Roberto Viola for his mishandling of the nation's economic crisis.

Increasing impatience over the political and cultural oppression has compounded the monetary problems. Ever since the 1976 military coup that toppled President Isabel Peron, the country has been run by army generals who tolerate little opposition. Successive governments have been internationally condemned for their violations of human rights, which, according to Amnesty International, included 15,000 killed after the coup.

Although political violence is not as frequent as in the late '70s, kidnappings, torture and murder reportedly continue to occur in waves. Government agents patrolling in unmarked Ford Falcons

(they are known as "Killer Cars") are still a feared sight in major cities, and the military routinely raids meetings of opposition groups. There is still an estimated 6,000 *desaparecidos* (disappeared ones), for whom relatives have marched every Thursday in front of the presidential palace demanding a genuine investigation into the mysterious disappearances. Censorship is strictly enforced. Journalists and other writers are forced to practice self-restraint or not practice at all. Books, movies, music and plays are scrutinized for anti-government, anti-God or anti-country themes.

Education has also been attacked. Major universities, long considered by the military to be a breeding ground for seditious activity, have been purged of "subversive elements." Anyone suspected of Marxist tendencies is prevented from teaching, textbooks and courses are carefully screened and government spies randomly enroll in classes to monitor professors and infiltrate student groups.

Unable to suppress their frustration and discontent any longer, protestors jammed the capital's streets on March 30 to demand "work and bread" and the repeal of the eight-year-old state of siege. Described as the largest anti-government demonstration since the military seized power, the angry crowds were repulsed by police using tear gas, horses, clubs and whips. Officials stated that more than

1,500 people were arrested. Galtieri, already in trouble over the economy, knew that something dramatic had to be done.

The 55-year-old general is known as an inflexible hardliner who scorns group decisions and tends to keep his own counsel. He is reported to think of himself as a strong and resolute leader and has been famous in Argentina for his arbitrary and renegade actions.

Last year, for example, as commander of the military district along Chile's border, he unilaterally ordered the frontier closed after two Argentine army officers were arrested in Chile on spying charges. He did so without consulting with then-president Viola because he felt Viola was weak when confronting Chile over Argentina's other century-old territorial dispute involving three obscure islands in the Beagle Channel, south of Tierra del Fuego.

As president, sensing that he needed a fast and unifying diversion, Galtieri lived up to his reputation by sending troops into the Falklands without consulting senior diplomats or division commanders. Capture of disputed territory as a means of exciting national pride was a guaranteed ploy, and since the Falklands were defended by only an 84-man Royal Marine garrison, compared to the well-armed and sophisticated Chilean defenses on the Beagle Channel, they were the obvious target.

Nationalistic anger.

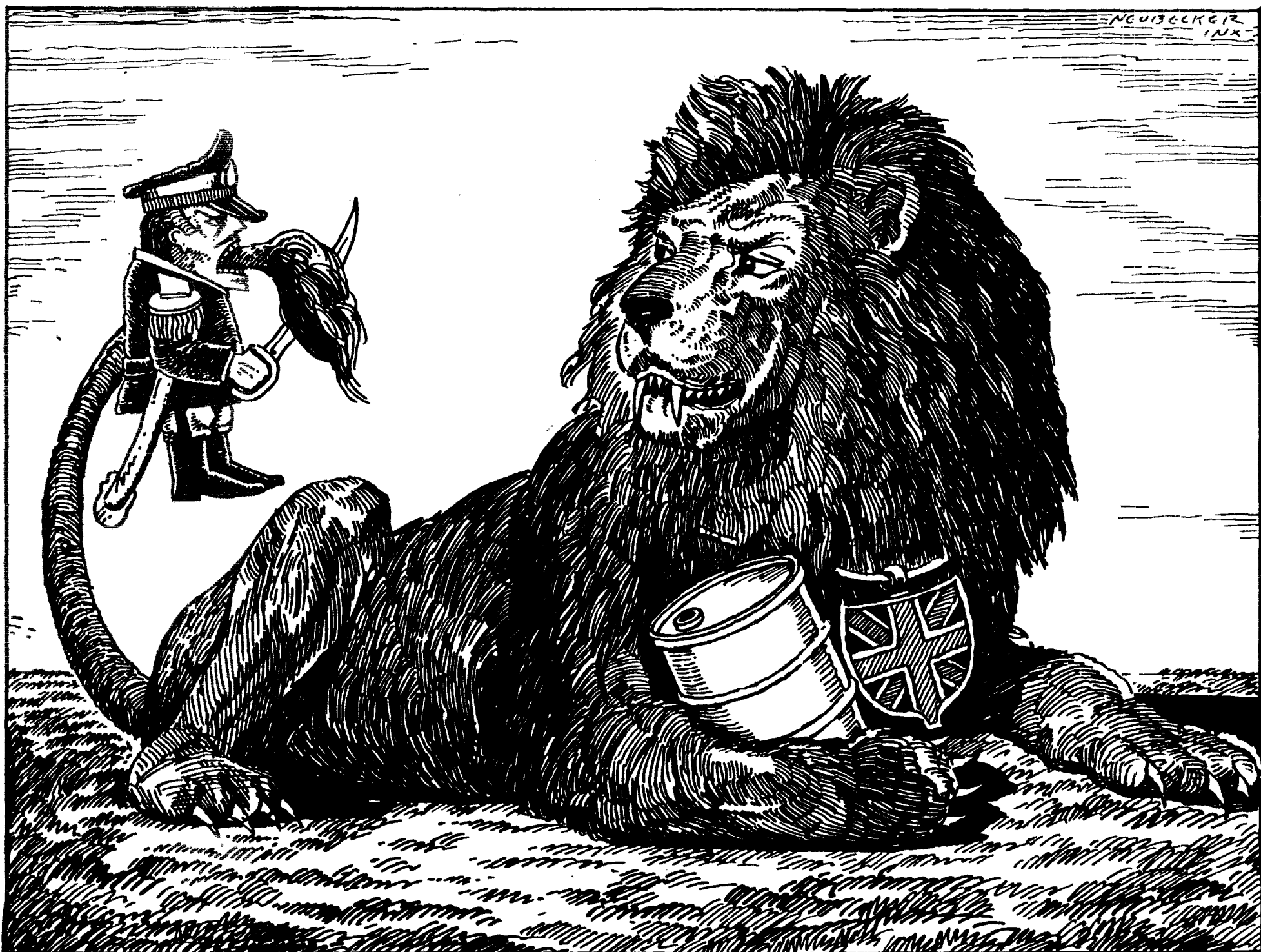
Simple mention of the name Falkland Islands causes the average Argentine to convulse with nationalistic anger. Since birth they are taught that the islands are theirs, that British functionaries on the islands serve as merely a "government in occupation."

"This problem—very little known outside Latin America, is the first thing we learn at school," explained Santos Nestor Martinez, Argentina's deputy United Nations ambassador, in a recent interview. "It is something that is very deep in the consciousness of every Argentine."

Maps show the islands as Islas Malvinas (from the French Iles de Malouines),

Continued on page 22

Has Argentina bitten off more than it can chew in the Falklands?



PCI

Continued from page 7

in his talks with Jospin by Romano Ledda, author of the party's critique of growing Soviet reliance on military force and now the PCI's chief international policy-maker. Ledda's perceptions of East-West relations are quite similar to those of the informed American liberal left, whereas almost the whole of France has swallowed the American right-wing view of the Soviet menace (unchallenged by the media) with astonishing speed. The PCI insists on judging specific acts, without demonizing one side or the other. Berlinguer said his party believed that both the U.S. and the Soviet Union were fundamentally responsible for the worsening world situation, and that what was most dangerous was "the mechanism, the logic of power rivalry, that functions independently of the will of individual leaders themselves."

While the PS takes a dim view of the European peace movement, the PCI is all for it. Berlinguer attempted to explain this by Italian peculiarities, by the fact that the movement in Italy was "not unilateral" but against the arms race on both sides (this is in fact the case everywhere, although you'd never know it from reading the French press), and, above all, by the fact that nuclear missiles were to be stationed in Italy and not in France. "We



Lionel Jospin and Enrico Berlinguer

ask why Sicily was chosen," said Berlinguer, "and we think it was perhaps because someone in the Pentagon thinks weapons based there can be used not as a deterrent to the Warsaw pact but against other countries outside the NATO region,

in North Africa, for instance."

But the underlying reason for French aversion to the nuclear disarmament movement is not that it is one-sided, but that it threatens the *force de frappe*. This came out in an interview Berlinguer gave to *Le Monde*, when he tried to explain that in reckoning the nuclear balance in Europe, the count should include British and French nuclear weapons on the Western side. "You mean the French *force de frappe* should be taken into account in negotiations?" the French interviewer asked, discreetly scandalized. "That would mean a very grave disagreement with the French Socialist Party."

"With all the French, perhaps with the French Communist Party as well," replied Berlinguer. And he persisted: "We Italian Communists think that all forces should be involved in a gradual arms reduction. But the essential thing for the moment is to take a first step concerning Soviet and American weapons."

The next day, Berlinguer was received at the Elysee Palace for an hour of conversation with French President Francois Mitterrand. The meeting was much shorter and surely less warm than with Jospin. Mitterrand has reportedly become very attached to his *force de frappe*.

Afterward, Berlinguer told Italian journalists that while he felt very close to the French Socialists concerning new ways to democratic socialism, when it came to international questions he shared a better understanding with West German Social Democrats.

Jospin accepted a PCI invitation to

Italy, and the two parties agreed to establish regular bilateral contacts and concrete forms of cooperation. As a starter, French Socialists will take part in a PCI-sponsored colloquium in Rome next autumn on "The Left and Europe."

The self-effacing Berlinguer, speaking rather bumpily French more into his hands than into the microphone, seemed the very antithesis of George Marchais and was welcome in France if only for that. But the PCI has more to offer than making the French Communist Party look bad (which its leaders manage to do all on their own). It has a rich political experience and analysis of some questions well ahead of the French Socialist Party. But to learn from its neighbors, the French left needs to develop a concept of internationalism going back to the French Revolution: that France sets the example for other nations to follow. ■

Iran

Continued from page 7

ecution of thousands of opponents, the regular torturings of arrested political suspects—has also had an effect.

Despite the war, Iran is exporting some 700,000 barrels of oil a day, sufficient to pay for most imports. And while it has been running its reserves down to balance its accounts, it has also reduced imports. Trade with its neighbors, Turkey, Pakistan and the Soviet Union, is up and, with the release of the U.S. hostages, Iran's foreign relations have been put into some sort of order. Unlikely allies—Israel, North Korea, the arms salesmen of Western Europe—have provided the material for the offense against Iraq.

After the wars.

Yet if the war ends the regime will face two immediate problems. First, it will not be able to blame all the economic problems of the country on the Iraqis. The inflation rate is more than 50 percent, unemployment is high and most industry is at a standstill. Shortages of consumer goods are increasing and most foods are being rationed—a situation reflected in the left-wing joke that "Couponism is the highest stage of Khomeinism."

The mullah's regime will also have to find a way to keep the army in check. It has placed religious personnel throughout the armed forces on a commissar basis and has built up the Islamic Guards as a trained and equipped force that could act as a counterweight to the army. But chief of staff Brigadier-General Zahirnejad is reputedly a man of strong opinions, and he and his associates may demand a greater say in how the country is run.

The regime itself rests upon a factor that must sooner or later disappear, namely the figure of Khomeini who, as both a symbol and arbiter of disputes, continues to play a powerful role. Surprisingly, Khomeini's line has come under fire in recent months from a more militant Islamic trend who oppose the regime's land reform, trade nationalization and workers' council proposals. These zealots, known as the Hojjatieh, want to intensify the persecution of the Bahai religious community and force out of office all those secular leftists, from the Tudeh Party and the Fedayin Majority, who still back Khomeini.

Left-wing opposition, despite serious losses, is also capable of posing new challenges. As a result, secret executions of Majahidin supporters continue: an estimated 100 people were shot in the Lavizan military compound in Tehran late last month after protesting the display there of the body of Musa Khiabani, the Mojahidin leader killed in early February. In the mountains of the west, the guerrillas of the Kurdish Democratic Party control most of the terrain, and a new secular socialist guerrilla movement has been conducting operations in the forests between Tehran and the Caspian Sea since December. ■

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies and a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

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The nuclear freeze challenges the rules of Reagan's dangerous game.

DOUBLE JEOPARDY

By Paul Joseph and John Judis

DURING THE '70s, FAR MORE Americans demonstrated against abortion or busing than against nuclear war. But the threat of nuclear war has become the issue of the early '80s.

The breadth of the new peace movement is astonishing. Two-hundred and thirty-eight New England towns have already passed resolutions demanding a negotiated freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons production and deployment. In Winnetka, Ill., a small Chicago suburb, a town meeting on nuclear war was called last month. At most several hundred were expected, but 1,100 jammed a school auditorium to hear speakers detail the dangers of such a confrontation. A March Gallup Poll showed 60 percent of Americans in favor of a freeze and only 29 percent against one.

The peace movement's supporters range from 60 Catholic bishops to the 13,000 health professionals that now belong to the Physicians for Social Responsibility. (See story on next page.) Twenty senators and 150 representatives have endorsed a resolution by Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield

(R-Ore.) calling for a negotiated freeze. And four prominent foreign political officials—Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Gerard Smith and George Kennan—have published an article in the spring *Foreign Affairs* arguing that the U.S. should abandon its pledge of a nuclear first strike in the case of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

The peace movement in the U.S., as well as in Western Europe, was prompted by the Reagan administration's nuclear arms policies, which have emphasized the feasibility of limited nuclear war and strategic superiority at the expense of arms control. These policies were the culmination of a decade of conservative protest against the SALT agreements with the Soviet Union and the McNamara-Johnson strategic policy, which was based on "mutually assured destruction,"

dubbed MAD by its critics.

The critics of SALT and MAD, centered in the Committee on the Present Danger, made some headway during the Carter administration. Acquiescing to the committee's positions, Carter abandoned SALT II ratification and accepted the limited war doctrines contained in Presidential Review Memorandum 59 (PRM-59). But with Reagan's election, Committee members no longer influenced policy, they ran it. Committee alumni like Richard Pipes, Richard Perle, Eugene Rostow and Paul Nitze dominated the Defense Department (DOD), the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and the National Security Council (NSC).

During Reagan's campaign and his first year in office, some of these officials and Reagan himself revealed aspects of their new nuclear strategy. The Republican platform called for the U.S. to gain strategic superiority. NSC member Pipes candidly predicted nuclear war, and Reagan, in an October 1981 press conference, defended the concept of limited nuclear

war. "I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to push the button," he said.

But as protests in Western Europe and at home have mounted, Reagan and his strategists have become more circumspect. (One errant general was ousted from the NSC last fall for making unauthorized statements about limited nuclear war.) Without changing its strategy, the administration is desperately trying to adopt a public stance that will defuse and even co-opt the peace movement.

Private vs. public policy.

There are terms to describe the Reagan administration's new public posture. Nuclear strategists distinguish between "operational statements"—internal documents like PRM 59 that detail actual strategy—and "declaratory statements" merely intended for public consumption. "The latter, in general, have not accurately reflected the content of the former," Los Alamos Laboratory military planners Donald M. Kerr and Robert H. Kupperman delicately acknowledge in a re-

Continued on the following page

IN THESE TIMES

Continued from the previous page
cent *Washington Quarterly* article about the Reagan policies.

The administration's operational policies consist of seeking nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, including the ability to fight and win a limited nuclear war. The purpose of this strategy, however, is not to fight a war, but to be able to use American superiority to win political concessions from the Soviet Union, as President John F. Kennedy did during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

There is considerable evidence that the Reagan administration is following this strategy. Besides the statements by Pipes and Reagan, the administration has initiated several telltale programs:

- The administration has accelerated the development of "counterforce" weapons accurate enough to knock out enemy missile silos. These weapons, like Trident II, the MX and Minuteman III, are useful primarily as first-strike weapons, since their main virtue is their ability to hit land-based missiles *before* they have been fired. The Pershing II, which the administration plans to install in Western Europe, would also fit into a war-fighting scenario since its speed and accuracy would enable it to knock out Soviet command posts in a first strike.

- The administration has increased funding for communications, command and control. This is crucial for a protracted nuclear war, but relatively unimportant for deterrence. It has also drastically increased research funds on a ballistic missile defense. During the Carter administration, about \$225 million was spent annually on missile defense research. In 1983, the Reagan administration proposes spending some \$1 billion.

- The administration has even proposed a renewed civil defense effort. Deputy Undersecretary of Defense T.K. Jones, one of the main civil defense planners, promised that with an adequate system, it would take only "two to four years for the U.S. to recover from an all-out nuclear war."

There have also been indications within the military community that the administration is pursuing a goal of strategic superiority. The Hudson Institute's Colin

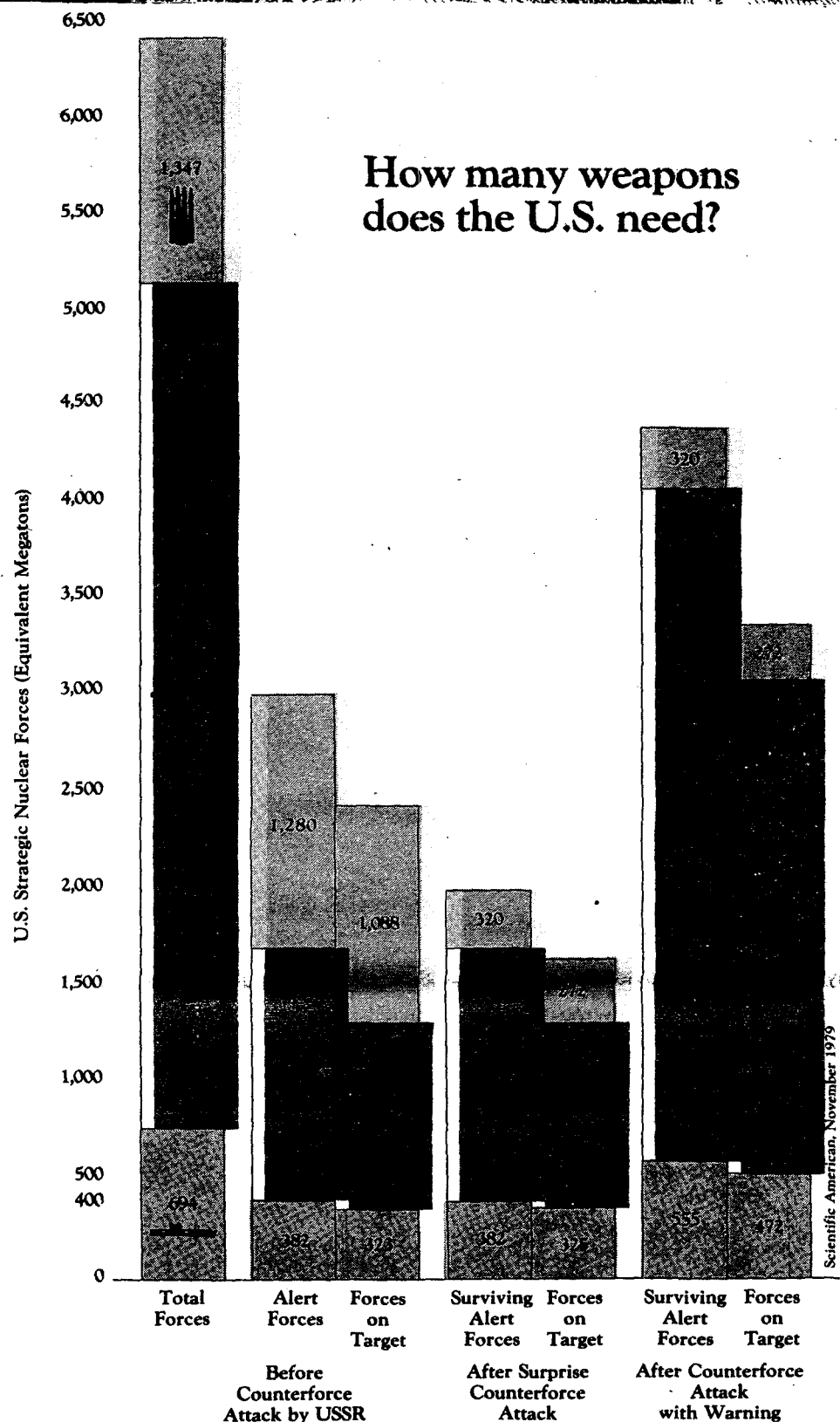
Gray (the nation's foremost opponent of MAD and proponent of a war-fighting nuclear strategy that assumes the possibility of victory) is a "NUT"—a nuclear utilization theorist, in the current argot. When some of Gray's anti-nuclear critics charged that he didn't represent mainstream thinking, Gray replied in a letter to *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* that his views "are about as close to current U.S. official (if still substantially private) thinking as one is likely to find anywhere in the public domain."

Who is superior?

The key phrase in Gray's statement is "still substantially private thinking." In the wake of peace movement opposition, the administration's declaratory policies have been increasingly at odds with its operational policies. The administration has adopted a traditional American practice of cloaking its aggression in the mantle of defense and national security.

The administration's public posture is drawn from the Committee on the Present Danger's arguments against SALT II. Committee members argued—beginning with Richard Pipes' "B Team" alternative CIA report in 1976—that the Soviet Union was on the verge of achieving nuclear superiority over the U.S. By the mid-'80s, Pipes, Nitze and Rostow asserted that Soviet land-based missiles could soon knock out American land-based missiles without a response in kind. This would create a "window of vulnerability." Committee members opposed SALT II because it didn't force sufficient reductions of the numerically superior Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) force. It called for a sharp military build-up, including the development of counterforce weapons, to create American "equality" with the Soviet Union. In practice, it intended to achieve superiority.

The Reagan administration used this approach in arguing against the Kennedy-Hatfield proposal for a negotiated arms freeze. In a March 31 news conference, Reagan said, "But the truth of the matter is that on balance the Soviet Union does have a definite margin of superiority—enough so that there is risk and there is



Who's who in the nuclear freeze campaign

By Jay Walljasper

WITH PEACE MARCHES in the news again—first in Western Europe and now in the U.S.—some observers are hailing a return to the rebellious counterculture of the '60s. But a closer look at the growing crowds lined up behind the banners of the nuclear freeze movement reveals a much more diverse bloc of demonstrators than seen during Vietnam days. Grandmothers and doctors are marching alongside seasoned protest veterans and punk rockers.

"The campaign is made up of people who were in the anti-war movement and a lot of new people from religious and professional backgrounds," notes Mark

Niedergang, a freeze organizer. "I think a lot of people working on the campaign are Democrats. But this is really outside of party politics. Even some conservatives are drawn to it."

Some leftists, however, accuse the freeze campaign of being timid about the larger, more crucial issue of disarmament. It has also been criticized for leaving crucial military decisions in the hands of the two superpowers and ignoring the political and economic factors of the arms race.

"As political analysis, the freeze is not very good," admits Niedergang. "But as a tool for getting people involved in these issues and for bringing them to a more critical analysis, it's amazing. It gets tens of millions of people thinking about nuclear war. It opens up people's minds. In the past, the left has not been able to do that."

"We've stressed that local freeze groups should make the connection to economic issues," he adds. "But this is essentially a grassroots movement cen-

tered in local communities and around churches, so we feel that local organizers know better what to do in their communities than a national office."

With its scattered base of support and grassroots orientation, the freeze often seems more like a spreading wildfire than an organized political movement. In fact, Tom Riehle, editor of a Washington, D.C., newsletter on public opinion, believes the freeze campaign's rapid growth as a popular cause caught its leaders by surprise. "I think it has out-run any leadership it might once have had," he says. But whether or not they will direct the future of the movement, the following groups are largely respon-

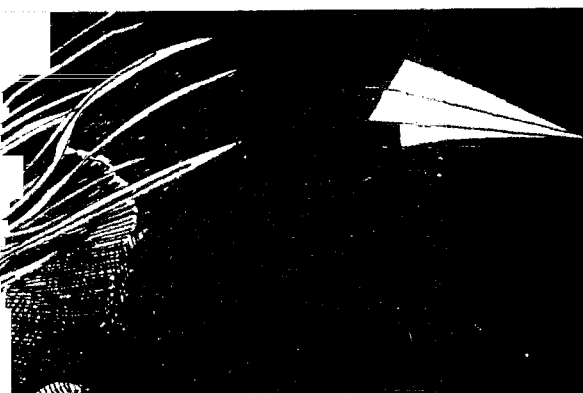
sible for bringing the freeze campaign to the center of the American political stage.

The Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

This Brookline, Mass., research center was founded by Randall Forsberg, a 38-year-old American woman whose work at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute provided the background for "A Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," the 1980 paper that first proposed the current nuclear arms freeze. That same year she established the institute to keep peace activists posted on the facts and figures of the arms race. But lobbying for the freeze—including one project to build support for the proposal among minority groups—has become one of the institute's main tasks, along with publishing a newsletter on Soviet military capabilities and compiling a directory of peace resources.

The American Friends Service Committee

This venerable Quaker-supported peace group joined the freeze campaign early on when it published and circulated Forsberg's proposal. Its network of local chapters was also instrumental in building support for the freeze—both among leftists and religious activists.



what I have called several times, as you all know, a window of vulnerability. And I think that a freeze would not only be disadvantageous—in fact even dangerous—to us with them in that position, but I believe it would also militate against any negotiations for reduction.”

Nitze and other Committee members had never assigned superiority to the present, but, in order to avoid unwarranted and dangerous admissions of American weakness, to the dreaded future. Reagan muffled the argument and angered erstwhile supporters like Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) who promptly repudiated the president's statement.

The Reagan administration has also trotted out arguments used by Carter military officials and by Pipes about Soviet nuclear war-fighting intentions. Citing scattered quotations from military writings and Soviet civil defense efforts, Pipes and others have argued that the Soviet Union is trying to develop the capability to fight and win a nuclear war, and that if the U.S. wants to deter Soviet intentions, it must match them. Like the inferiority argument, this one projects aggression entirely onto the Soviet Union and puts the U.S. in the favorable position of responding defensively to the Soviet threat.

Both of these arguments are specious, if not patently dishonest. The Soviet advantage in the number of ICBM launchers, upon which the administration bases its claims of Soviet superiority, has always been a sign of Soviet weakness rather than strength, which is why the Nixon

administration explicitly conceded to the Soviet Union's higher numbers of ICBMs in the SALT I agreement. The U.S. was able to develop solid fuel and precision multiple warhead missiles before the Soviet Union, which made it less dependent both on land-based ICBMs and on a comparable number of heavy weapons. To make up for its lack of accurate multi-warhead lighter missiles, the Soviet Union relied on heavier land-based ICBMs.

If there is a window of vulnerability, it will open in the Ural Mountains rather than the Rockies. The Soviet Union remains far more dependent on vulnerable land-based missiles than the U.S., which has much of its strategic arsenal under water. The U.S. already has a counterforce weapon—550 Minuteman IIIs—while the Soviet Union has about 100 dubiously accurate SS-18 “mod-fours.” Jim Miller, the chief of ballistic missile systems for the Defense Intelligence Agency, has said these Soviet missiles are “the most accurate of all their fourth-generation systems. [But] that's not good enough for the planner. He still has to go two on one to get a sufficiently high kill-probability.”

The imputation of a nuclear war-fighting strategy to the Soviet Union is a flimsy pretext for developing counterforce weapons, since such weapons are useless to deter a first strike. In addition, there is scant evidence to support Pipes' claims about Soviet intentions. Far more statements to the contrary can be found in Soviet military journals. And the Soviet civil defense effort was initiated in view of a possible atomic war against the Chinese, whose small arsenal might be muffled by a civil defense effort. Planners estimate that in a war with the U.S. the Soviet Union would lose its still largely unprotected heavy industry and at least 25 million citizens—shelters or not.

Freeze or reduction?

But the administration's last line of defense against its critics may be the freeze proposal. The Kennedy-Hatfield proposal calls for the negotiation of a “mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other missile

systems.” But it also calls for “special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve.”

This qualification is important. In nuclear negotiations aimed at preventing war, negotiators have sought “essential equivalence” of performance rather than “exact equivalence” of numbers. If one country's land-based ICBMs or submarine launchers are inferior to those of the other country—as is the case with the U.S. and the Soviet Union—then exact equivalence of numbers would give the U.S. a destabilizing edge. If one country continued to build counterforce weapons within the agreed numerical limits, that could also destabilize an arms agreement.

The Committee on the Present Danger strategists have sought to use proposals for purely numerical reductions in nuclear weapons to embarrass the Soviet Union. For instance, in spring 1977, the Carter administration was convinced by Senator Jackson and his aide Richard Perle to propose deep cuts in the number of land-based ICBMs to the Soviet Union. Because of the American advantage in other weaponry, the reduction of both country's land-based ICBMs favored the U.S. It reduced total nuclear arms, but it destabilized the strategic relationship between the two countries.

The Reagan administration, with Assistant Secretary of Defense Perle as one of its chief strategists, has followed the same disingenuous approach to arms negotiations. Last fall it presented the Soviet Union with a “zero option” proposal to eliminate Soviet intermediate range missiles in exchange for the cancellation of American plans to install Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. Since the U.S. and its allies could still rely on their submarine-based and airborne missiles in a European war, the proposal would have given the NATO forces a distinct advantage.

In response to the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze resolution, the administration endorsed another Jackson-Perle invention—a proposal introduced by Jackson and Sen. John Warner (R-Va.) to negotiate an arms reduction. The Jackson-Warner proposal calls for negotiation of a freeze

“at equal and sharply reduced levels of forces.” (our italics) Such a proposal, like the zero-option one, was intended to co-opt the opposition without altering basic administration objectives of strategic superiority.

One obvious danger of the freeze campaign is that it can be confused or even won over by this kind of facile manipulation. That is the virtue of proposals like those of Bundy, McNamara, Smith and Kennan, which cut through the rhetoric of arms control and attack the premises of American policy.

Deterrence and limited war.

Once the spurious arguments about windows of vulnerability are disposed of, there are still two sets of basic issues that underlie the current debate on nuclear arms policy. One set is superficially technical: Is it now possible to achieve strategic superiority, and to what extent can a nuclear war be limited? The other set is political: What is the goal of a nuclear weapons policy—the pursuit of military victory or the prevention of war?

There is little evidence that within the next 20 years the U.S. or the Soviet Union will become capable of gaining strategic superiority over the other. Such superiority would entail the creation of a missile defense system capable of destroying enemy missiles in space or an offensive system capable of destroying enemy missiles in their land- or sea-based launchers. No system currently being developed is capable of doing either. With both economies suffering decline, it is also unlikely that either could even purchase the slight and militarily meaningless edge as a result of greater military expenditures.

The concept of limited nuclear war rises or falls with the possibility of strategic superiority. The only way nuclear strategists could assure themselves that an exchange would be limited is if they could be sure that one country imposed limits by destroying the other country's capacity to retaliate. Otherwise, a country would always risk its own and the planet's survival in starting a nuclear war, no matter at what level.

Continued on the following page

Under the worst case scenario of a surprise Soviet counterforce attack, the U.S. would still have far more than the 400 megatons (represented by the heavy black line across the chart's bottom) necessary to inflict unacceptable damage (35 percent of population, 75 percent of industry) on the Soviet Union. These figures were taken from a 1979 Scientific American estimate. Since then, the U.S. has substantially increased its “overkill capacity.”

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse

Growing out of the March 1981 freeze organizing conference held in Washington, D.C., this office was established to coordinate local freeze activities and provide information on the movement as a whole. St. Louis was selected for the headquarters because of its central location, moderate image, proximity to major defense contractors (McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics) and active peace community centered around the Catholic Church.

Physicians for Social Responsibility

Founded in 1961 to draw attention to the perils of atmospheric nuclear testing, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) lost its steam after the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty. But in 1979, just before the accident at Three Mile Island, it was revived by Harvard medical professor Helen Caldicott and other health care workers concerned about radiation threats to the public. In 1980, the group decided to concentrate its energies on the issue of nuclear weapons, and since then its membership has jumped

from 1300 to 13,000, with 200-to-300 new members joining each week.

On the national level, PSR schools health-care professionals about the probable effects of nuclear warfare through newsletters, films and symposiums held at medical schools. On the local level, individual physicians meet with community groups to alert them to the medical consequences of nuclear war.

Mobilization for Survival

In an effort to rechannel some of the energy and resources of the anti-war movement back into the campaign for peace, the Mobilization for Survival was formed in 1977. This coalition of more than 150 peace, environmental, anti-nuke and human rights organizations stresses the links between the arms build-up and political issues such as job safety, pollution and lower government expenditures for human needs. Although it backs the nuclear freeze initiative, the upcoming United Nations special session on disarmament, to be held in New York in June, is currently the group's main focus. For that occasion, it is planning a peace march, an international religious convocation and civil disobedience at the UN missions of the five major nuclear powers.

Religious organizations

Religious support for the nuclear freeze

spans the theological spectrum from the Rev. Billy Graham to the United Presbyterian Church. Besides the American Friends Service Committee, other religious organizations in the thick of the freeze campaign include Clergy and Laity Concerned and Pax Christi, a Catholic peace group. In addition, nearly all the other peace organizations are bolstered by religious activists. The staff of the freeze campaign's national clearinghouse, for example, includes a Catholic nun and another woman active in peace projects with the Lutheran church.

Ground Zero

Founded by former Pentagon researcher Roger Molander—who served on the National Security Council during the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations—Ground Zero claims to be a non-partisan source of information about the arms race, thus it takes no official position on the nuclear weapons freeze. But with chapters in 200 cities, 350 college campuses and 1000 high schools, it has built strong support for the position that there is no such thing as a technological or military deterrent to nuclear war, and therefore the only way to prevent a holocaust is through arms limitations talks with the Soviets. That message should be amplified this week as Ground Zero chapters across the country strive to increase pub-

lic awareness of nuclear issues through events ranging from slide shows to massive balloon launches illustrating how far radioactive particles can travel.

California Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

This week arms control supporters in California will turn in almost 700,000 signatures—twice the number needed—to place an initiative endorsing a nuclear weapons freeze before voters. With the freeze assured a spot on the November ballot, their focus now shifts to a crucial public opinion battle in a state heavily dependent on defense industry jobs. A group of employees at the Livermore Weapons Lab is already organizing against the measure. But some of their co-workers have actually endorsed the freeze, along with 32 union locals in northern California. ■

Continued from previous page

Moreover, what is described as limited nuclear war actually entails morally and politically unacceptable destruction. For instance, the Office of Technology Assessment has estimated that even a purely counterforce attack against American missile silos would kill between two and 20 million people, depending upon the prevailing winds.

The rejection of a limited war scenario underlies Bundy, McNamara, Smith and Kennan's rejection of a first-use policy in Europe. "The basic argument for a no first-use policy can be stated in strictly military terms: that any other course involves acceptable risks to the national life that military forces exist to defend," the authors argued.

But a reassessment of deterrence as the goal of nuclear policy also underlies their rejection of first-use. The American commitment to first-use against a Soviet conventional invasion was developed when the U.S. still had nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, and amounted to the threat of extreme reprisals against it. But with the Soviet Union having gained essential equivalence, the meaning of first-use has changed. The U.S. is now threatening to set off a series of events that could destroy the globe, including the nations it is trying to protect. In short, Bundy, McNamara, Smith and Kennan have acknowledged that a policy of first-use is no longer consistent with a goal of deterring nuclear war.

The issue between them and the Reagan administration is the goal of nuclear arms policy: Should the U.S. seek superiority in order to gain an eventual political advantage over its rival, or should it seek to institutionalize essential equivalence in order to make nuclear war unlikely? In its military expenditures, the Reagan administration has sought superiority rather than essential equivalence. In its arms proposals, it has sought propaganda victories rather than real agreements.

The sincere adoption by an American administration of the goal of deterrence would mean a radical change in American nuclear strategy and arms expenditures. When McNamara in the mid-'60s first formulated the goal of "mutually assured destruction," the first version of deterrence, he proposed that unacceptable damage in a nuclear war would consist of the loss of 75 percent of a nation's industry and 25 percent of its population. Deterrence was achieved when a sufficient number of a nation's nuclear weapons, pointed at the enemy's cities and industry, were capable of surviving a first strike and inflicting this level of damage.

The U.S. now has about 15 times the equivalent mega-tonnage necessary to inflict unacceptable damage on the Soviet Union. After a surprise counterforce attack, the U.S. would still possess about six times the weaponry necessary to inflict the high levels decreed for unacceptable damage. (See table.) In other words, the adoption of deterrence could mean a substantial reduction of the American and Soviet nuclear arsenal.

But will it ever happen? There is a disconcerting similarity between the Reagan administration and the Kennedy administration of the early '60s.

The Kennedy analogy.

In 1960, Kennedy was elected president on a promise to close what he called a "missile gap" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This gap was as fictitious as Reagan's "window of vulnerability," but Kennedy pressed ahead with 15 percent increases in military spending in his first budget.

Kennedy also began to alter the Eisenhower-Dulles strategy of threatening "massive retaliation" for either a Soviet invasion of Western Europe or the Soviet use of nuclear weapons against the U.S. In a June 1962 speech, Kennedy's Defense Secretary McNamara proposed targeting American missiles on Soviet military installations. McNamara argued that nuclear strategy should be regarded "in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been regarded in the past." In short, he called for a counterforce strategy and for seeing

nuclear strategy as coterminous with conventional warfare. As Colin Gray would put it 15 years later, "Statecraft with nuclear weapons looks very much like statecraft without nuclear weapons."

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev called McNamara's new strategy "monstrous." Khrushchev, who had earlier relied on bluff to cool American nuclear enthusiasts, now tried to compensate for Soviet ICBM inferiority by moving intermediate range missiles to Cuba. In October 1962 Kennedy threw a blockade around Cuba and threatened the Soviets with nuclear obliteration. The world came as close as it ever has to nuclear war.

Because of American superiority, the Soviet Union pulled back, and the threat of war was averted. Kennedy and McNamara subsequently opted for mutually assured destruction, while the Soviet Union furiously sought to make up ground against the U.S. in order to prevent future humiliation.

In the early '80s, there are obvious echoes of the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchanges—from the supposed Soviet superiority to the rapid military buildup, including civil defense, and the adoption of a nuclear-war-fighting posture. There are also echoes in the Soviet response. Besides denouncing the American strategy, Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev has threatened a recurrence of the Cuban missile crisis.

On March 16, Brezhnev warned that if the U.S. continued with its plans to deploy Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, Moscow would be forced to "take retaliatory steps that would put the other side, including the U.S. itself, its own territory, in an analogous position."

There are two differences between now and then. One is not reassuring. With the Soviet Union and the U.S. equal in nuclear weapons, neither country is likely to back down from a confrontation.

But in 1982, the peace movement both in the U.S. and Western Europe, is much larger than it was in 1962. It stands between a recurrence of history that could destroy the globe. Perhaps it will also force both American and Soviet leaders to come to their senses. "The Soviet Union and the U.S. are embarking on an arms race that will change the shape of strategic policy and enhance the possibility of nuclear war," Senator Hatfield said on the Senate floor March 10. "But history has shown that moments of overreaching danger can also offer glimpses of unprecedented opportunity and hope."

Paul Joseph is Associate Professor of Sociology at Tufts University and author of *Cracks in the Empire: State Politics in the Vietnam War*.

IN THESE TIMES

Debate heats up in our glass houses

The public outcry last year in Europe over the proposed placement of 572 new American intermediate range nuclear missiles has now spread to the United States as a popular movement against further escalation of the arms race. The response to the nuclear freeze initiative's petitions in California, the town meetings in Vermont and New Hampshire and the massive outpouring of protestors in Chicago April 10 leave no doubt that there is a deeply felt and strongly held popular revulsion against the rhetoric and policies of the Reagan administration on this issue.

Tens of millions of Americans now understand what administration officials do not—or pretend they do not: that the time is long past when either the U.S. or the Soviet Union could win a nuclear war. The Soviet Union could turn the United States into a mass of charred and smoldering rubble, and American submarines would still be able to retaliate in kind. The U.S. could destroy 90 percent of Soviet intercontinental missiles, and the Russians could still kill most of our population. Talk of windows of vulnerability, in this context, is ludicrous. When it comes to nuclear war, we are all living in glass houses.

In this light, the proposal by McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith, that the United States and its NATO allies adopt a no first-use policy in regard to nuclear arms in Europe is a significant opportunity for progress toward sanity. Like the appearance of doves in the Democratic Party leadership in 1968, when a rapidly growing peace movement, flagging support from European allies and an unhealthy distortion of our domestic economy played more of a role than sudden conversion to the cause of anti-colonialism, the reversal of Bundy, et al., on first-use doctrine is not entirely altruistic. As they write, the "present unbalanced reliance on nuclear weapons" might well lead to "some deeply destabilizing political change in Europe."

But even if this is their primary motives, their initiative is welcome both as a

sign of growing and deepening divisions within the American ruling class and as an opportunity for the left to participate in a discussion of the ways in which our money and resources should be used.

Bundy, et al., argue that once "we escape from the need to plan for a first-use that is credible, we can escape also from many of the complex arguments that have led to assertions that all sorts of new nuclear capabilities are necessary to create or restore a capability for something called 'escalation dominance'—a capability to fight and 'win' a nuclear war." Under a no first-use policy, they continue, we would need "a set of capabilities we already have in overflowing measure—capabilities for appropriate retaliation to any kind of Soviet nuclear attack which would leave the Soviet Union in no doubt that it too should adhere to a policy of no first-use. The Soviet government is already aware of the awful risk inherent in any use of these weapons, and there is no current or prospective Soviet 'superiority' that would tempt anyone in Moscow toward nuclear adventurism."

This policy would also greatly reduce the amount of money needed for nuclear arms and missiles, say Bundy, et al. "Once it is clear that the only nuclear need of the Alliance is for adequately survivable and varied second strike forces, requirements for the modernization of major nuclear systems will become more modest...." Under such a policy, for example, it would not be "necessary or desirable to deploy neutron bombs." The savings from this more modest program, they conclude in anticipation of administration arguments against their proposal, could go toward meeting the financial costs of the increased American contribution to conventional forces in Europe.

This latter point assumes, of course, that there is a real threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, and that the Soviets are now superior in conventional forces. The International Institute for Strategic Studies in London disputes this, saying the NATO allies laid out several hundred billion dollars more in military expenditures in the '70s than did the Warsaw Pact nations, and that there is a rough equivalence in the number of soldiers on each line. Similarly, David Johnson of the Center for Defense Information found that the Soviet advantage in ground forces is much less than the three-to-one ratio commonly estimated to be necessary for a military breakthrough.

There is also the more important question of what could possibly lead the Soviets to invade Western Europe. Given their difficulties in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan and their history of non-intervention, except on their immediate borders (the Soviet Union has given military aid to many third world revolutions, but it has always withdrawn its personnel on request), a Soviet invasion of Europe is unimaginable except as a result—rather than the cause—of war with the United States.

In any case, these are policy questions that deserve serious public discussion. The legacy of the anti-Vietnam war movement has been an increased awareness of American colonialism and a much greater public awareness of the dangers of American intervention in El Salvador. Similarly, the nuclear freeze movement opens the possibility of public consideration of a wide range of related issues. We hope the left understands this and that it will vigorously pursue this opportunity.

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

CARRYING SPONTANEITY TOO FAR

IF THE VIEWS OF RICHARD HEALY (ITT, March 31) are in any way representative of those of the leadership of the new Democratic Socialists of America, then it seems rather unlikely that the organization will progress beyond its position on the fringe of American life. Healy somehow supposes that it is not the duty of a socialist organization to attempt to build a mass base. Rather, Healy would have the DSA accept its elitist nature and sit back waiting for a socialist mass base to "activate itself."

The adoption of such a policy now can only be self-defeating. As the Reagan program and the worsening economy chip away at the standard of living and quality of life of a good many Americans, it is imperative that the left begin to suggest an alternative socialist program. Board member Healy seems to have forgotten that the general public's main, and often only, sources of information, from Dan Rather to *Time* and *Newsweek*, are not conduits for socialist ideas. Can one really expect a socialist mass movement to develop spontaneously under such conditions? Yet, at a time when the Reagan administration has unleashed a full-frontal attack on middle and lower income Americans, it's likely that an increasing number of the population will be more receptive to alternative conceptions of social priorities if they are presented to them.

With fewer and fewer people participating in the electoral process, with the Reagan administration's dive in popularity, with the snowballing nuclear freeze campaign, and with the widespread opposition to American involvement in El Salvador, there are signs that the soil is fertile. If the organized left chooses not to plant in it, but to remain a nearly sterile, isolated, intellectual elite, one can be sure that a Walter Mondale, or a Ted Kennedy will not quibble with it as they go about peddling the Democratic version of "more of the same."

—Jerry Willard
Binghamton, N.Y.

FLEXIBILITY

THE ITT EDITORIAL MESSAGE ON electoral action (ITT, April 7) is well taken. It remains to forge the tools.

Electoral strategy is one of the traditional controversies that has torn our minuscule left asunder. Advocates of coalition with Democrats, a labor party, a socialist party, et al., have fought long and savagely to maintain control of their respective socialist closets—and little else.

Somehow we never saw that with America's great diversity, coupled with our impotence, no single electoral strategy could possibly fit all places at one time—let alone for all time.

We posed (and fought) over the wrong question. What we need is something like a grassroots (Minnesota) Farmer-Labor Association that will unite left liberals and socialists in elections and in the streets as opportunity dictates.

The '20s and '30s experience of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, (spawned by the North Dakota Non-Partisan League, which naturally out-

grew participation in major party primaries after it built a strong base among farmers and workers) shows us the way to go.

—Joe Stetson
Bloomington, Ind.

NOT SO CLEAR

YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, APRIL 7) OFFERS well deserved congratulations to independent and Citizens Party activists who have had victories in recent local political contests. You then criticize DSOC by writing that "precious little has actually been done by DSOC in the Democratic Party." The implication is that the critical difference between the success of the independents and Citizens Party on the one hand and the failures of DSOC on the other is simply a matter of effort.

This is a shallow analysis. We would do better to ask whether a difference in approach could account for the difference in results. DSOC has tended to concentrate on a national and international analysis of corporate capitalism. From this viewpoint local issues seem either unimportant or so intricately linked with national issues as to be insoluble through local efforts. Such an analysis has much to recommend it intellectually, but it is politically paralyzing. It has led to concentration on congressional campaigns, where the small core of insurgents has been unable to have any significant effect. The few DSOC members who hold office are not there because of DSOC efforts and have no strong loyalty to DSOC. The merger with NAM may bring a new focus on local action to the combined organization.

The second contrast between DSOC and the independent and Citizens Party efforts is the strategy of working within the Democratic Party. The left has long debated the merits of independent versus Democratic Party strategies. Both sides can present plausible arguments, but the resolution of the conflict will come, not from further debate, but from practical experience.

Third party advocates argue that left ideas will be crushed by corporate control within the Democratic Party. DSOC has not yet proven this argument wrong. DSOC members have argued that third party candidates are not electable in our two-party system. The Citizens Party and others have shown this to be false. So far, experience seems to favor a third party strategy.

—Tim Joseph
Ithaca, N.Y.

PROTECTING THE REMNANTS

AS AN EXPATRIATE IRISHMAN WITH the misfortune of an English upbringing, the absurdity of England's apparent intention to invade the Falklands would afford me nothing but amusement if it were not for the fact that, if the action takes place, many lives could be lost and the whole silly business might amount to a larger, more tragic affair than the politicians seem to realize.

As usual English rhetoric revolves around the fact that (it seems) the whole population lays claim to that

ubiquitous "honour" of being "British" and have no desire for union with a "foreign" country. This argument will be maintained and all others ignored as totally subordinate. The English never allow any logic to interfere with their self-righteously expressed desire to retain any colony they still have a grip on, particularly if a large profit, in this case through the possibility of oil, is present to color the issue.

The proposed invasion of the Falklands is not a result of delusions of grandeur so much as willful obstinacy, greed and a stupidity that masks the dangers of an escalation unpredictable by either side. The unpleasantness of the Argentinian regime obscures England's willingness to go to war to retain its hold on a ridiculously sized colony on the far side of the world.

—Michael A. Igou
Denver

TAX GASOLINE

I WOULD LIKE TO QUOTE FROM MY book, *Promoting Economic Development*, Northwestern University Press, 1967, when gasoline was selling for 30¢ a gallon.

"Again, consider the automobile—a prime example of the conflict between private and social interests. The automobile is delightfully convenient to its owner and feeds his ego superbly. At the same time it befouls our atmosphere, congests our cities, strains our tax resources in providing highways and parking facilities, murders and maims our people, uses up vast quantities of natural resources, and employs huge armies of labor and sums of capital that might be used for more urgent needs.

"Our present predominantly laissez faire policy with regard to the automobile is creating vast and worsening problems for our cities, so much so that some day we may have to do something like this: (1) Tax gasoline heavily enough to double its present retail price; (2) impose a graduated tax on new automobiles according to weight or horsepower, so that the smallest, most economical vehicles would be taxed lightly, and the largest would be taxed 100 percent of their retail price; (3) use the tax receipts to subsidize urban and inter-urban public passenger transportation to the point of providing it free.

"Then people will be able to choose whatever mode of transportation they

wish, and the person who insists on driving the biggest car to the maximum extent would make reparation to society for the social costs he imposes on the public."

A 100 percent tax on gasoline would pay for much free public transportation for passengers. The federal government could even pay the costs of running school buses, and they would pick up all passengers on their routes. If we used less gasoline, the price would fall and the tax would also be reduced.

—Jacob Oser
Clinton, N.Y.

THE DEATH OF INVENTION

I SEE THAT NEWSPEAK HAS COME TO *In These Times*. Richard Lichtman (ITT, March 24) assures us that liberties will continue to exist, in some undefined and dialectically transformed form, in collectivist society.

Lichtman writes that we cannot know just how we will have free speech when the state owns the printing presses, for "a mode appropriate to a socialist community does not yet exist." Many things have at one time not existed but now do—they come into being by a process called invention, a feature of human rationality.

But would invention exist in Lichtman's Marxist state? One indication is to be found in Lichtman's suggestion of what socialist free speech *would* be like. Such free speech can be "glimpsed" in "the Socratic dialogues, and the discussion of the Greek polis...in Soviets of laborer and workers councils" (sic). Does Mr. Lichtman know that Socrates was put to death for his speech, and that soviet worker's councils are not exactly bastions of free inquiry? Would inventors be able to exist under Lichtmanian freedom of thought?

I must conclude that Lichtman is correct in the opening sentence of his concluding paragraph: "Socialism cannot compete within the logic of capitalism." And the "logic" of socialists such as Lichtman cannot compete with much of anything.

—Bruce Majors

National Secretary, Students for a Libertarian Society, Washington, D.C.

CORRECTION

The correct address to order the film *Americas in Transition* is 401 West Broadway, New York, NY 10012.

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PERSPECTIVES

Sandra O'Connor is off to a poor start

By Bill Blum

WHEN RONALD REAGAN named Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court, many liberals and feminists, anticipating another conservative white male appointee, breathed a sigh of relief. The National Women's Political Caucus hailed the nomination as a "major step toward equal justice in our land." Senate Democrats, from Edward Kennedy to Alan Cranston, warmly endorsed the president's choice.

Even the liberal legal community jumped uncritically on the welcome wagon. In an article published soon after O'Connor's elevation to the high court, *The American Lawyer*, an innovative legal tabloid designed in the style of *Rolling Stone* magazine, praised O'Connor's record as an Arizona appellate judge. Characterizing O'Connor as a "closet liberal," the article intimated that her selection might ultimately backfire on Reagan.

After seven months of active duty on the bench, however, O'Connor has given Reagan no reason to be dissatisfied. Instead, she has settled comfortably into the role of junior partner to the tribunal's conservative standardbearer, Justice William Rehnquist. Thus far, she has voted on the same side as Rehnquist in nearly 90 percent of her cases.

Her first half year on the Supreme Court has pleased Reagan.

Rehnquist and O'Connor, of course, go way back, having graduated together from Stanford University Law School in 1952. Rehnquist finished first in the class, O'Connor placed in the top ten.

They have since remained close friends in Phoenix. Last summer, O'Connor authored an essay in the *William and Mary Law Review* in which she expressed agreement with Rehnquist's attitude toward states' rights and the need for restricting the jurisdiction of federal courts.

O'Connor's willingness to follow the Rehnquist line was demonstrated in January when she provided the tie-breaking vote in *Valley Forge Christian College v. Americans United for Separation of Church and State*. The case involved a federal suit brought by a taxpayer organization to prevent HEW from giving

away surplus government property to a college run by the Assembly of God religious order. The plaintiffs alleged a violation of the First Amendment's Establishment Clause, which guarantees separation of church and state.

Writing for the majority, Rehnquist ruled that the organization lacked "standing" (the right to sue), because it was not a direct party to the transfer, and reversed a lower court order blocking the gift. As for the underlying Establishment Clause violation, which was ignored, Rehnquist lambasted those who believe "the business of federal courts is correcting constitutional errors." By narrowing the concept of standing, which had been expanded in recent years to accommodate taxpayer actions, the decision will substantially limit access to the federal courts. As Justice William Brennan, the court's ranking liberal, remarked in dissent, "the ruling will slam the courthouse door" on people seeking to redress official wrongdoing.

O'Connor has also joined Rehnquist opinions in criminal cases. In *Hutto v. Davis*, she joined a six-to-three majority decision that a 40-year prison term imposed on a Virginia man for selling three ounces of marijuana did not violate the Eighth Amendment's ban against cruel and unusual punishment. Although the opinion was issued *per curiam* (and was thus unsigned) it was based on a 1980 Rehnquist ruling that upheld a sentence of life in prison for a Texas man convicted of three petty thefts. Consistent with Rehnquist's constitutional philosophy, the two cases leave state legislatures with virtually unlimited discretion to set maximum sentences.

In another Rehnquist opinion on criminal law, *Smith v. Phillips*, O'Connor voted with her former classmate that a defendant had not been denied due process even though one of the jurors who convicted him had applied for a job as an investigator with the prosecutor's office during the trial.

O'Connor has also joined conservative opinions by other members of the Court. She endorsed a ruling by Justice Byron White that a California requirement that "peace officers," including probation officials, be U.S. citizens does not violate the equal protection rights of lawfully admitted permanent resident aliens. In like fashion, she joined a Chief Justice Warren Burger opinion reducing the Fourth Amendment rights of criminal suspects and another White decision invalidating a collective bargaining contract clause obligating Kaiser Steel and other coal-producing companies to contribute to the UMW health and retirement fund whenever they

purchased coal from non-union mines.

In the few progressive opinions issued this term, O'Connor has generally dissented. For example, in an important family-law case from New York (*Santosky v. Kramer*), the majority voted five-four that a state must prove charges of unfitness by "clear and convincing evidence" before it takes children permanently away from their natural parents. Justice Rehnquist, together with O'Connor, Burger and White, dissented on the familiar theme that the court lacked constitutional authority to impose such a stringent standard of proof upon the states.

With one exception, O'Connor's own opinions have been cut from the same



cloth as her general balloting. The exception came in her concurring opinion in *Eddings v. Oklahoma*, in which a 16-year-old boy had been sentenced to death for killing a highway patrol officer. Although the majority opinion failed to decide whether the execution of a juvenile was constitutional, it invalidated the sentence because the trial judge had refused to consider mitigating evidence in the youth's background before passing judgment. Burger, dissenting, argued that the judge had been aware of the boy's background and that, in any case, "there comes a time when every court must bite the bullet."

O'Connor's concurrence was prompted by the callousness of Burger's remarks. "Because sentences of death are qualitatively different from [other] prison sentences," she reasoned, it was imperative

to remand the case to Oklahoma for consideration of all mitigating factors to determine if capital punishment was indeed appropriate. Her concern, however, was strictly with the procedural aspect of the case. The death penalty itself was constitutional. They way it was applied in *Eddings* was not.

Any hope that *Eddings* augured a moderating trend in O'Connor's views dissipated in her majority opinions in *Rose v. Lundy*, *Engle v. Issac* and *U.S. v. Frady*, issued in March and April. Amplifying a Burger policy begun in the mid-'70s, these cases limit the availability of federal *habeas corpus* remedies to criminal defendants tried in state courts. O'Connor's remaining opinions include three routine unanimous decisions dealing with oil and gas rights, campaign financing and pay raises for federal employees. She has also authored a mildly anti-labor dissent, taking odds with a majority holding that a bargaining impasse between a union and a multi-employer association does not justify the unilateral withdrawal of one of the employers from the association during contract negotiations.

O'Connor's record is disappointing, but hardly surprising. There is nothing in her background to indicate that she would become anything but another conservative vote on the Court. Even her much ballyhooed support for abortion rights and the ERA has proven to be exaggerated. As an Arizona state senator in the early '70s, she introduced a bill permitting doctors to refuse to participate in abortion procedures. And although she once favored the ERA, she never became, as some have claimed, a sponsor of the amendment. In any event, O'Connor put all speculation on these subjects to rest during her Supreme Court confirmation hearing, when she expressed regret over her former moderate attitude toward abortion.

Further evidence of O'Connor's conservative position on women's issues surfaced on April 5, when she joined the majority in a five-four decision upholding company seniority systems that harm women and minorities during layoffs. (*American Tobacco v. Patterson*.) Such systems, the majority held, are exempt from judicial attack, even if statistics show they favor white males, unless an actual intent to discriminate can be proven.

While it is too early to close the book on Sandra Day O'Connor, the first chapter of her performance clearly merits dim reviews. If O'Connor holds to her present course, Americans will be hard pressed to find a silver lining simply in the gender of our newest Supreme Court Justice. ■
Bill Blum is a Los Angeles lawyer.

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PERSPECTIVES

By E. Bradford Burns

THE RECENT SALVADORAN elections, in which a majority of those elected to the constituent assembly represent parties vociferously opposed to land reform, casts a grim shadow over its future.

If ever a country needs land reform it is El Salvador. Traditionally 2 percent of the landlords have controlled some 60 percent of the land. Producing for export, those fertile acres grow coffee, sugar and cotton for shipment to world markets. The ample profits permit a privileged few to enjoy a comfortable lifestyle.

Somber statistics characterize the rest of the countryside. About 95 percent of the rural workers are functionally illiterate. Fully 82 percent of the population do not receive the minimum recommended caloric intakes. The infant mortality rate is double that of Cuba and quadruple that of the U.S. Running water, sanitation and electricity are unknown in the hovels where most of the rural population live. Some have access to small plots of land, often of marginal value. Most work only part of the year, and then for a meager wage.

A promise of change generated hope in late 1979, when a group of young officers toppled the corrupt, ultra-conservative and oppressive government of General Carlos Humberto Romero. The new ruling junta spoke of reforming the iniquitous agrarian structures. To the surprise of nearly everyone, the young officers kept their promise, promulgating Decree 153 on March 6, 1980, a rather thorough land reform. In the first phase of the reform, the government nationalized estates exceeding 1250 acres and turned them into cooperatives run by the workers. The government promised payment in bonds for former owners. Those estates mainly grew cotton and sugar cane, although some produced coffee and raised cattle. A second phase later was to nationalize landholdings varying in size from 250 to 1250 acres. A third phase, announced by Decree 207 of April 28, 1980, spoke directly to the peasants. That "Land to the Tiller" phase would transform the renters of small plots into the owners of that land. More than 80 percent of those plots measure less than five acres each.

More than two years have passed since the promulgation of the agrarian reform. The guerrilla forces now claim to control more than a third of the countryside. The army seems to be less and less secure outside the cities and towns. (A recent Pentagon assessment says it is only "marginally" able to hold its own on the battlefield.) Chaos grips much of the nation. What has become of the land reform and the promise it once seemed to hold for economic justice and social peace?

The junta headed by Jose Napoleon Duarte claimed it carried out the reform, albeit slowly. The U.S. Department of State speaks approvingly. Although recognizing "problems" and "deficiencies," in January it termed the reform "a remarkable success story." A variety of land reform specialists believe the Salvadoran government has made progress in the complex task of dividing up the land. They judge the progress all the more notable in the midst of a bitter civil war.

But basic doubts have always pervaded discussions of the land reform. After all, the Latin American law books bulge with land reform laws that have never been executed. In El Salvador, part of the bureaucracy, much of the military and virtually all of the large landowners have obstructed reform. Nor do the landlords meekly accept the reform decrees. They sponsor vigilante groups that often receive the cooperation of the army in their intimidation and murder of the



After the elections, the outlook is grim for land reform

peasantry. Violence certainly hampers efforts to carry out the reform. It is no coincidence that the number of killings rose rapidly after the promulgation of the land reform: from 240 in February 1980, to 490 in March, 480 in April, 610 in May and 770 in June. Jorge Villacorta, formerly an undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, observed, "In reality, from the first moment that the implementation of the agrarian reform began, what we saw was a sharp increase in official violence against the very peasants who were the supposed 'beneficiaries' of the process." Not only the peasants paid with their lives. Between March 1980 and September 1981, assassins murdered nearly 40 employees of the agrarian institute, in addition to its director, Jose Rodolfo Viera, and two American experts on land reform.

For their part, the peasants often react to the violence instigated by the landlords by giving overt or tacit support to the guerrillas. Frustrations with the inefficiency of the bureaucracy further engender sympathy toward the rebels. The rural masses want immediate reform, or, at least, one moving at a faster speed than is now the case. As civil conflict ravages part of the countryside, the government has to devote increasingly larger sums of a meager budget to the military, funds that should go into the implementation of the land reform. To the extent that the military brutalizes the peasants and sides with the former landowners, the government finds itself in the contradictory position of financing both a land reform and the subversion of it.

It wasn't doing too well before the rightists won a majority in El Salvador.

By the end of 1980, a growing number of people seriously interested in El Salvador began to question what was happening to the highly praised land reform. The U.S. Agency for International Development reported in January 1981, that the reform thus far had touched "less than 15 percent of the country's total farmland." In early March, President Duarte informed the nation, "We will have to wait five to 10 years to enact Phase 2." He thus postponed the nationalization of El Salvador's 30,000 farms ranging in size from 250 to 1,250 acres. The peasants had eagerly awaited Phase 2 because the medium-sized farms included most of the country's profitable coffee-growing land.

Increasingly the analyses of the "progress" of the land reform throughout 1981 were cautious, even pessimistic. Perhaps a *New York Times* headline (Aug. 3, 1981), "Salvador Land Program Aids Few," summed up the conclusions of those disappointed with the record. Corruption, inefficiency, financial deficits, lack of peasant participation and a short-

age of technical and agricultural skills plagued the program. It simply failed to address the needs of the most impoverished of the rural workers who constituted something like 65 percent of the rural population. Nor had much land been redistributed. In the last quarter of 1981, the Salvadoran agrarian institute still reported the earlier 15 percent figure as their estimate of the land distributed.

The most impressive assessment of the land reform came from the peasants, who have reasons to know more about the successes and failures of the reform than anyone else. Lately few officials—Salvadoran or U.S.—wander around the countryside gathering statistics. A December 1981 report from *Union Comunal Salvadoreña* is as important as it is unique: It reflects opinion in the countryside, the views of one very large group of peasants, rather than the official pronouncements of the Ministry of Agriculture in San Salvador.

Claiming to speak for 110,000 peasants, the Union is the largest such organization in El Salvador. It is the indirect recipient of U.S. aid. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (an arm of the AFL-CIO) has advised and sponsored the organization. The recent report of the Union bluntly announces, "The failure of the agrarian reform process is an immediate and imminent danger." The report lays the blame for the reform's failure at the feet of terrorists, the military and a slow, "frequently hostile" bureaucracy. The report noted that under the "Land to the Tiller" reform only 15,000 families have received "provisional titles" to their lands since April 1980.

It is worthwhile to emphasize that no "permanent titles" have been granted to individuals—and for that matter only three of the more than 300 peasant cooperatives have received "permanent title" to their lands. The U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Deane Hinton, laments that the issuance of permanent titles of ownership is a "serious bottleneck." He admitted in February, "The chances of this [granting of permanent titles] taking place in the immediate future are not good. As a result, the peasants remain suspicious and fearful and the landlords harbor hopes of repossession."

The rural working class still forms more than 60 percent of the nation's population. It has a tradition of rebellion from which the guerrillas can draw recruits. The *Union Comunal Salvadoreña's* conclusion reveals that patience is near exhaustion: "What began in March and April of 1980 with bright promise and had continued to show bright promise even through the end of 1980 now threatens to become a nightmare of bureaucratic red tape, evictions and killings, in which it will soon be beyond the capacity of the government or the campesino leadership to prevent a complete loss of faith by our country's campesinos in the agrarian reform program." Nothing has occurred since December to stem that loss of faith.

While the Duarte government paid lip service to the need for land reform, the bureaucracy and rightwing violence managed to frustrate the reform. The recent elections shifted the center of the "official" government rightward. As politicians avowedly hostile to the reform take power there will be no reform rhetoric to complicate the issues. The goals of those who would restructure Salvadoran society will contrast ever more markedly with the efforts of a constituent assembly determined to return El Salvador to the past. As the thrust of governmental reform fades, the rural workers will identify their hopes with a guerrilla victory and land reform will become a central issue in an intensifying civil war.

E. Bradford Burns is Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles.

BOOK AWARDS

Deciding who's the best is a money proposition

By Ralph Moss

In mid-1979, the Association of American Publishers (AAP) created a storm of controversy when it announced that it was putting the prestigious National Book Awards out of business, and creating a new entity—the American Book Awards.

The American Book Awards—or TABA for short—were to be the literary equivalent of the Oscars, a glamorous ceremony that would enthrall millions of potential readers and generate sales for the industry.

The result was a public relations disaster. Forty prominent National Book Award judges and winners—including Norman Mailer, Philip Roth and William Styron—noisily boycotted the first TABA ceremony.

Most people in the literary-publishing community thought the new TABA format was tacky. "Although nearly all of the men and women on the American Book Awards Committee are New York-based executives," said *Time*, "their program sounds like something concocted at the Polo Lounge of the Beverly Hills Hotel."

Others worried about the broadening of award categories, a process in which cook books received almost as much attention as fiction or biography. The voting procedure did not reassure writers. The National Book Awards had been decided by distinguished writers. But the new book award distributed 2,000 "voting rights" throughout the AAP, with the biggest company getting the most votes. The whole thing was beginning to resemble a political convention.

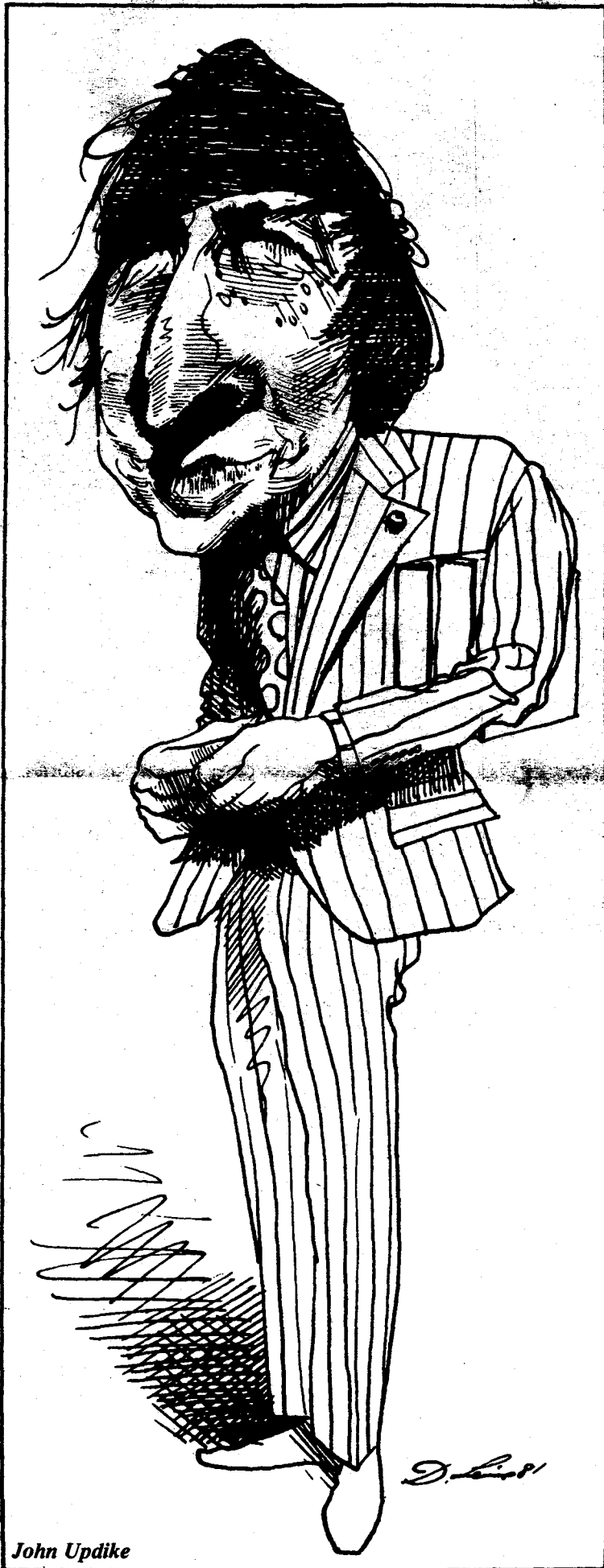
In previewing this year's annual TABA, to be held on April 27 at New York's Carnegie Hall, it is clear that the AAP has, in great measure, cleaned up its act.

The number of separate categories has been pruned to 12. In each category there is an 11-person committee that makes the nominations and the ultimate choices. (In "Translation" there are only five judges.)

The judges are allegedly picked to represent a cross-section of the publishing industry—authors, critics, booksellers, librarians, editors and publishers. Last year it included well-known individuals (e.g. Max Lerner, John Ciardi and Norman Cousins) as well as the "manager-buyer of the Paradise Bookstore in Naperville, Illinois" and someone who "has been involved with bookselling" at a Detroit department store for six years.

Behind the hoopla.

When TABA was first proposed, many people feared that it would become a showplace for the best-selling commercial fiction. But Judith Krantz is not walking off with any prizes. The



John Updike

fiction nominees include Mark Helprin, William Wharton, John Irving, Robert Stone and John Updike, all of whose 1981 works have been critical, although not necessarily great commercial successes. A separate award is being made to first novelists, to encourage that dying breed. Nor have the largest publishers in AAP visibly thrown their power around: books published by two relatively small, prestigious houses—Alfred A. Knopf and Farrar, Straus & Giroux—received seven out of the 10 nominations in both fiction categories.

So, despite the fears—or, pos-

sibly, because of the criticism—many of the worst features of the first TABA have been ameliorated. But serious problems still remain, and they are not so amenable to quick changes.

Behind all the promotional hoopla of TABA is the vexing question of who decides the merits of books and, in fact, who decides what gets published. "The underlying issue," Herbert J. Gans noted in the *Nation* in 1980, is "who gets to define literary merit."

The TABA executives, judges and nominees are predominantly white, middle class and male—the main exception seems to

be children's literature, traditionally a woman's domain. The same charge can be made—and has been made—about other such contests, including the National Book Critics Circle Award.

Publishing as a whole suffers from this kind of bias, and it is a problem that will probably grow worse. The industry is being rapidly monopolized, with the big firms buying up the smaller firms and the conglomerates gobbling them all. Predictability and sameness become virtues in such an environment. A few chains, such as Walden and Dalton, dominate the sales picture and, some writers believe, now help call the shots on what gets published, promoted or sold.

No wonder one of the cries at the October American Writers Congress was "Writers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your 'chains.'" The formation of the Organizing Committee for a National Writers Union (OCNWU) was a response to the growing squeeze within publishing.

While the organizers of TABA are clearly trying to make the awards fair and to avoid the overt commercialization of the ceremony, they cannot affect these trends, nor can they change the basic structure of the industry.

Almost without exception the nominations have gone to the products of the very firms that belong to the publisher's organization. *For readers' titles thrown in for good mea-*

sure. But there is no reflection in this process of the wide variety of emergent publishers, writers and views. In particular, the hundreds of innovative small presses, which provide an outlet for the talents and opinions of many new and important writers, are almost totally shut out of the award process.

Also shut out is the most important person in publishing—the reader. There are no reader representatives on the judging committees, and no attempt to solicit readers' opinions on what sort of books should be cited.

Instead, the TABA in 1982 has offered a positively insulting, condescending plan—a "nation-wide contest" that will "involve American readers to a greater extent than ever before." I had to read through the book awards handout twice before I realized that this "exciting new feature" had nothing to do with choosing the awards. You merely get a chance to send in your choices and see if you picked the same books as the publishers' organization. If you submit a correct ballot—hold your breath—you will receive a TABA collector's poster and a chance to win autographed books.

The whole publishing process would profit by real grassroots participation in TABA and other literary awards. Without it, the awards are likely to remain an industry event of little importance to the reading public.

Ralph Moss is the author of *The Cancer Syndrome*, an updated paperback version of which will soon appear (Grove).

AUTHORS

Women are overlooked by the prizegivers

By Rob Shaffer and Paul Skenazy

The recent nominations released by the committees of the National Book Critics Circle Awards, the American Book Awards and the PEN/Faulkner Awards, show consistent bias, including the fact that only nine women among the 91 nominees in all categories (excluding children's literature, where women account for more than 60 percent of those selected).

In fiction, there is only one book by a woman (Marilynne Robinson's *Housekeeping*) and one by a black (David Bradley's *The Chaneyville Incident*) among the 16 nominees (both nominated by PEN). Lest we just consider 1981 an unusually bad year for work by women, the *New York Times Book Review's* list of notable fiction includes 30 works by women among the 86. So good work was produced, reviewed and read.

In 1972 Tillie Olsen noted that writing by women was excluded from university reading lists,

standard anthologies of literature and the major awards given for literary achievement. The anthologies have changed—more women are included, though usually represented by short selections. Even so, the ratio of men and women represented in these books has not shifted dramatically. The award systems have, if anything, altered for the worse (see chart). Women have won only three of the 24 major national prizes for fiction given since 1973. The story is similar with minority authors—James Alan McPherson won the Pulitzer Prize and Toni Morrison the National Book Critics Circle Award in 1978 (one should also add Maxine Hong Kingston's two autobiographical works, *Woman Warrior* and *China Men*, which have been honored as non-fiction).

The National Book Critics Circle explained the fact that there were no women among its 20 nominees for 1981 this way: "We are committed to judging books. We give nominations and awards to books, not to authors."

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page or publishers or out of consideration or race, age or sex." This is not a new justification for racism or sexism. One's class, gender and ethnic dispositions find their defense in personal taste and their endorsement in the artistic criteria designed to confirm that taste.

Bias as excellence.

The way idiosyncrasy and bias become defined as excellence is most clear in the two annual short story collections—*Prize Stories: The O. Henry Awards*, edited by William Abrahams, and *Best American Short Stories*, edited until 1977 by



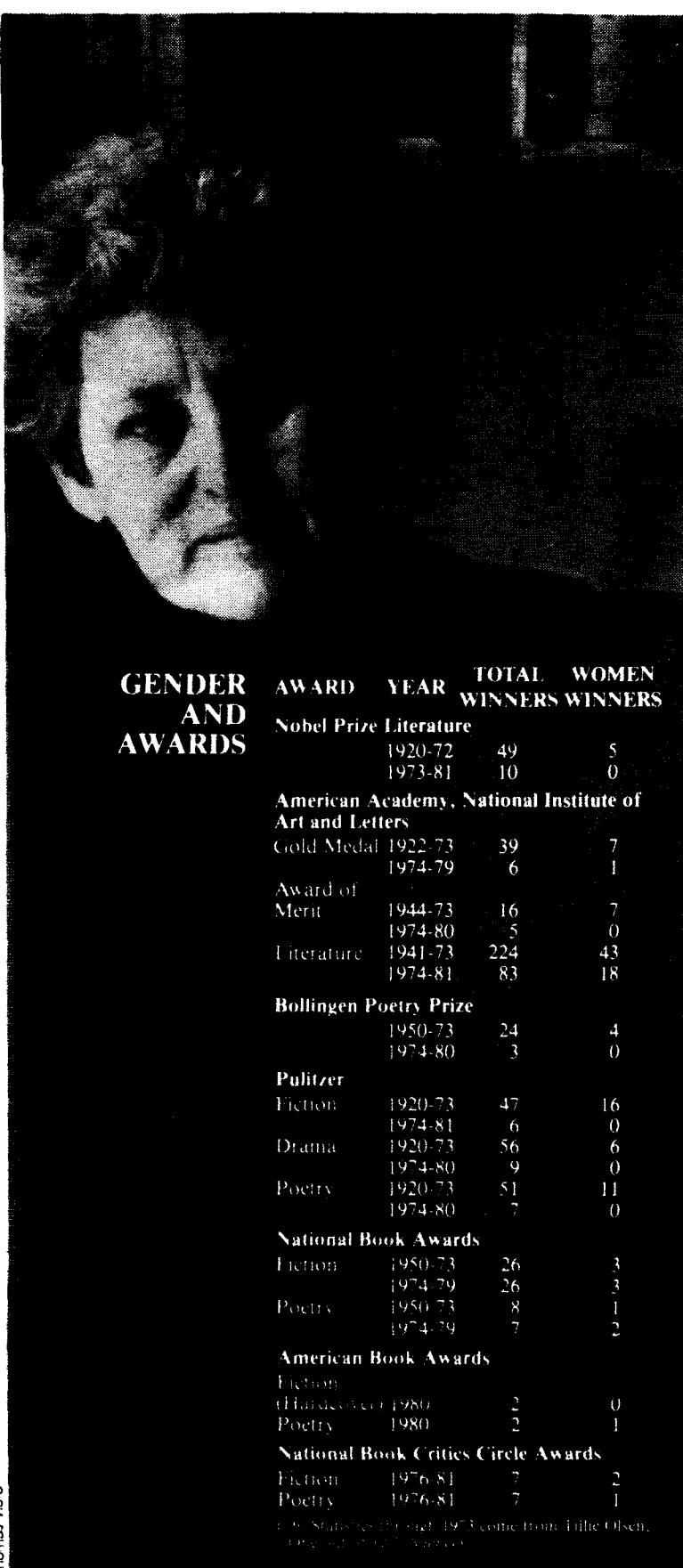
Bernard Goffry

Toni Morrison

Martha Foley and since then by yearly guest editors. (A third collection, *The Pushcart Prizes: Best of the Small Presses*, edited by William Henderson, aims for a very different kind of coverage; in the last five years a third of its stories are by women.)

A glance through their tables of contents for the last 10 years reveals very few stories by black, Chicano, Asian or Native American writers—four by James Alan McPherson (none since 1975), two by Hal Bennett (none since 1971), one by Eldridge Cleaver (1970), two by Alice Walker, one by Leslie Silko. There are no stories by Gayl Jones, for example, or Toni Cade Bambara, to mention two significant new black voices. Perhaps this absence is also partly the fault of the magazines, and of the range of magazines, from which stories are chosen. About one-third of the stories in both anthologies come from the "big three": *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic* and *Esquire* (in 1980 and 1981, more than 40 percent of the *Best American* stories were from *The New Yorker* alone). Such percentages suggest what social climates one finds in the stories most literate Americans get to read. They also suggest the tastes in language and social milieu that most interest the editors.

Other idiosyncrasies dominate the two annuals. William Abrahams' *O. Henry* anthologies are notable for the representation of work by women. (Out of 225 stories between 1970-81, 97 were by women.) Abrahams is less enthusiastic about *The New Yorker*'s fiction than the *Best American* editors (it accounts for only about 10 percent of his stories), a bit more wide-ranging in his little magazine reading, and more prone to select West Coast writers (he lives near San Francisco). Certain kinds of writing leave him cold: he has never published a story by Donald Barthelme (who appears five



Tillie Olsen

times in the *Best American* anthologies since 1970), or by I.B. Singer (three appearances). On the other hand, Alice Adams' stories have appeared in every *O. Henry* collection since 1971; this year she will receive the Special Award for Continuing Achievement (*Best American* includes her only once, in 1976). Abrahams has also published five works by Patricia Zilver (a West Coast writer whose books he edits), four by Josephine Jacobson, three by Raymond Carver; *Best American* collections have so far ignored all three writers.

With the introduction of a shifting editorship, the *Best American Stories* has become, in the publisher's words, "a sequence of informed opinions that gains reliability from its very diversity." The reliability seems to consist of its persistent disinterest in work by, or about, the poor or about work life, and a strong emphasis (which Abrahams shares) on stories of the middle and upper middle class home, often at the moment of threatened disintegration through personal conflicts or death. With the exception of 1979, 50 percent of its stories come from the "big three" magazines. In that year, guest editor Joyce Carol Oates, who edits *The Ontario Review* and works in Canada, insisted on a wider range of little magazines to choose from and included more stories from them as well as more from Canada. (She be-

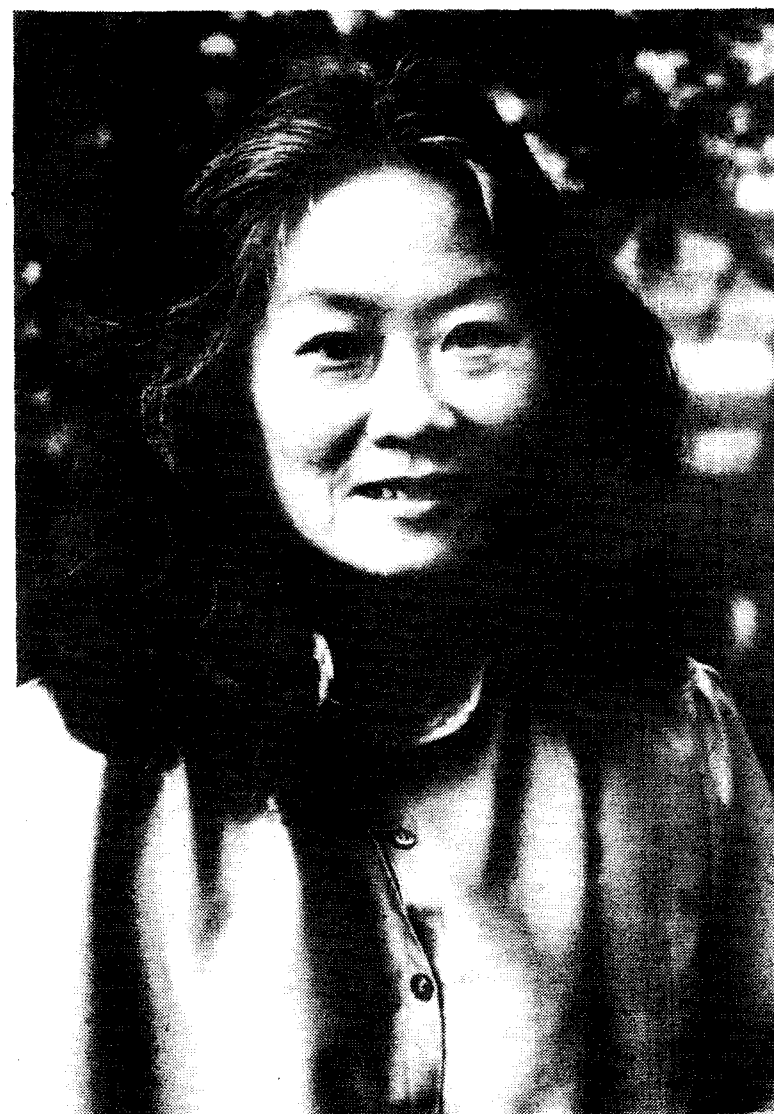
gan her introduction by trying to "qualify" claims for the collection even as the best of "North American short stories.")

Stanley Elkins, guest editor in 1980, jocularly confident that his selections "are, quite simply, the very best short stories published in American magazines in 1979," explains his tastes in rather revealing language: "Only the flat-out hero—I mean the medalist, the ribboned, the campaigner; I mean the champ, the Heisman winner, the MVP—is valued for his deeds. The rest of us are esteemed, or not, for our opinions.... A man's character is his taste, and he is as much a victim of it as the pictures, food, music, films, furnishings, and clothes he chooses are the subjects of his necessity. It, taste, may even be one of the famous drives, like sex or appetite."

Elkins' drives wheel him by only four good stories by women (two by Mavis Gallant); Oates and Calisher (1981 guest editor) on the other hand, perhaps more drivers than driven, discover about equal numbers of stories written by both sexes.

We have been trained to believe that certain stories—a boy in a river, a crew chasing a whale, a hunt for a bear—are universal, or more universal,

find something represented which they know of as life, and to find such representations respected by publication and reward. Elkins does not notice the gender of his writers nor even the similarity in subject of his stories except as his preference for "nice guys in trouble." Hortense Calisher feels called upon to tell us that it was "not intentional" that there are 10 men and 10 women among her authors.



Thomas Victor

Maxine Hong Kingston

than other kinds of stories. These become the stuff of art and curriculum, while other tales become the stuff of melodrama, of women's magazines and, in our more sophisticated contemporary segregation, of women's studies courses.

This kind of training remains like a hangover in many stories by men in these collections. The first reference to a woman in one story: "It was no more than a small hairless crack." In a story by a man about a woman, she wakes from giving birth: "She had made him a father...that was her first thought." Males are defined through professional activities (lawyer, professor, businessman, truck driver) and the women by domestic functions (wife, mother of two, mistress). Men are generally satisfied with their jobs, dissatisfied with their marriages; their frustrations are sexual and interpersonal.

One wants to agree with Joyce Carol Oates when she says that the stories she selects illustrate "the essential health and sound judgment that characterize the writer's freedom." But the "writer's freedom" depends on the readers' freedoms—to be able to

Of course not. But it is interesting. And it is also interesting that it is Calisher who is the only one among the editors to recognize the social patterns that dominate her collection: the interest in "domestic family relations," the disappearance of "city-focused stories...into television sociology," the absence of stories of "black life."

She could have noticed more, but at least she has noticed that the stories emerge from a society, and that her tastes come from her own place in that society. Elkins meanwhile seems satisfied with the "something peculiarly indulgent" about taste.

To talk of gender is not to restrict the "writer's freedom," but to expect more of an imaginative range from those who judge and thereby arbitrate values. The woman writer—not always, but probably more often than the male writer at least at this point in history—is apt to be touched by and to record what Tillie Olsen speaks of as schooling in "the shaping power and inequality of circumstance."

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SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





Recollected Essays 1965-1980

By Wendell Berry
North Point Press, 850 Talbot,
Berkeley, CA 94706
352 pp., \$7.50

By Geoffrey Gardner

Unlike 97 percent of contemporary poets and novelists, Wendell Berry has a subject beyond words or mere sensibilities and beyond the dim flickering of "interpersonal relationships." His subject is the farm: the work and discipline it requires and the natural and human horizon in which it occurs. Berry is himself a farmer, from early on by virtue of background and childhood training, later as a consequence of mature choice. Because of his allegiance to the twin vocations of writing and farming, Berry has set himself against specialization. He has become one of a handful of serious writers assured of an audience beyond the limits of any specialized world, literary or otherwise.

In the foreword to this book of essays, culled from five previous collections, Berry says, "Unconsciously perhaps from the beginning, and more and more consciously during the last 16 or 17 years, my work has been motivated by a desire to make myself responsibly at home both in this world and in my native and chosen place. As I have

A farmer who wields a pen

slowly come to understand it, this is a long term desire, proposing the work not of a lifetime but of generations." The resolutely moderate tone of this, as in much of Berry's writing, is in extreme contrast to the audacity of its meaning. We're all aware of the precariousness of our continued existence within and beyond the Alphaville landscape of the death of capitalism—or whatever you like to call the tightly organized and crumbling precipice on which we live. And so it is impossible to imagine any other proposal for a life's work more contrary to the rootlessly mobile, over urbanized

For novelist-poet Wendell Berry, the farm is the fulcrum of culture.

and leveling path of our near universal commercial culture on its weary but relentless way to possible extinction.

For Berry the farm is the fulcrum of culture, the ground where the wild and the civilized are joined. However highly civilized and sophisticated we become, "wilderness is the element in which we live encased in civilization as a mollusk lives in its shell in the sea." And Berry has always been at pains to show that only by conserving the farmer's instincts and skills for establishing a nurturing habitat within the wilderness will we be able to preserve the world and ourselves from waste and utter collapse. "No matter how urban our life, our bodies live by farming; we come from the earth and return to it, and so we live in agriculture as we live in flesh. While we live our bodies are moving particles of the earth, joined inextricably both to the soil and to the bodies of other living creatures." The political meanings of this are clear enough. We will only learn to use each other

justly and well, without greed and the illusion of power, if we also learn, in Berry's phrase, "the kindly use" of the world.

Nature begets man. Man begets civilization. Civilization begets man. Man destroys nature. This dismal progression is the ecological crisis that has grown during the last 200 years of industrial revolution and has swelled out of all measure in the four decades since World War II. It is in no sense separate from the series of political and social crises that form the patchwork that passes for public life or the shames and fragmentations of our private lives. In some of these essays, Berry writes about slavery, the frontier spirit, the misconceptions of institutional religion and abstract economics and the fear that all physical work is necessarily drudgery, turning up as he goes the historical and deeper cultural roots of the ecological crisis. More immediately Berry writes of it as a consequence of the now nearly exclusive substitution of agribusiness for agriculture.

Torn at the root.

Over the last 40 years, modern techniques of mechanization, along with the abstractions of economists have been applied so single-mindedly to farming that most traditional methods and economies and their evolution have been excluded from all but

the most marginal farms. If farms could be factories than farmers would thrive. Such has been the dominant presumption. And by its lights, so too would everyone else thrive. But it's just not so.

The evidence from this enormous and uncontrolled experiment in exploitative farming and its almost total emphasis on the productive phase of the agricultural cycle shows it has been a hopeless and dangerous failure. We are all familiar enough with the constant degradation of the quality of the food we eat and the drastic increase in its cost. In addition, three million acres of prime American farmland now go out of production and into industrial or recreational uses—or into no use at all—every year. Small farms are now either too remote or too expensive to run by modern means within the credit nexus of modern economics. Only 5 percent of our population now produce all the food eaten by the rest of us, and something approaching 80 percent of the population now lives on slightly more than 1 percent of the land. This radical depopulation of the our agricultural areas has meant devitalization for hundreds of rural towns and counties and impossible pressures for jobs and housing within our cities. For the families whose lives have been torn at the root, it has been nothing short of a mass expropriation by slow and steady increments.

In the longest and most ambitious of these 11 essays, Berry argues that specialization itself—the separation of knowledge from discipline and the substitution of training for education and business for culture—is the disease at the core of our devolution. We know how to do things efficiently, fast and cheap. But we have lost the discipline to make provision for the consequences of what we do.

The cure, as Berry sees it, is to return to methods and meanings that will allow that the discipline related to eating is agriculture, not economics, and the discipline related to agriculture is ecology, not technology. To return to the small farm and work it organically and with animals, carefully rotating crops and returning manures to the soil, is not a nostalgic wish. It urges instead that we pick up the tools of a still vital tradition. It is a proposal for a series of reclamation projects, region by region, through which Berry thinks we can restore not only the land, but also our character.

Continued on page 23



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

East meets West(ern)

By William B. Logan

With recent retrospectives of his work in New York and Chicago, Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa is riding high. His most recent film, the lavish historical drama *Kagemusha*, won accolades at the Cannes and Venice film festivals and became the top grossing Japanese

Kurosawa's Japanese film art has transformed, not borrowed, Hollywood's example.

steeped in the lore and technique of a foreign culture—Hitomaro stole from the Chinese Han and Six Dynasties cultures—and their translation moved Japanese art toward a new era. The periodic influx of foreign technique and materials has been essential to Japanese culture.

Just as Hitomaro brought change to Japan by supporting Chinese Buddhism, so Kurosawa brings another advance—the Western idea of historical realism. He more than any other Japanese director made one of Japan's most popular genres—the contemporary-life film—into a historically conscious form. Even the best of ordinary contemporary-life movies—those by Yasujiro Ozu, for example—are concerned with relentlessly personal problems—second marriage, old age, first love. It took Kurosawa to goad the form into social conflict. Led by the great director's efforts, the *shakai-mono*, or "social-subject film,"

angled expressionist shots. In *The Bad Sleep Well*, a company official marries the boss's daughter in order to get revenge on the officials who murdered his own father. We see a wedding cake shaped like the building his father was pushed from delivered to the reception, just as the real Western-style wedding cake is being served.

New virtues.

No Japanese studio would bankroll such disturbing images today. And in a country where all the movie theaters are owned by the four major studios and government support for film is limited to a \$50,000 stipend for films judged to be among the year's 10 best, lack of studio support usually means that a film they don't want will not be made. By 1960 the number of *shakai-mono* being produced had dropped to under 2 percent, their place being taken by the *jidai-geki*, or period film, partic-

ularly the samurai sword picture. The usual sword picture is an action-packed homily to timeless virtues such as loyal service to one's parents, teachers, lord, emperor.

Kurosawa adapted. The first of his samurai efforts set a standard that even he has never equalled. *Seven Samurai* (1954) takes a traditionally generous view of upper-class morality, but its seven heroes have seven atypical virtues, most not strictly martial. And the film's hypnotic rhythm made it a textbook for young American directors like Francis Coppola, George Lucas and John Milius. Kurosawa's four sword pictures—including *Yojimbo*, *Sanjuro* and *The Hidden Fortress*—are his most satisfying and popular films. They kept the Toho studio happy with him until the mid-'60s, in spite of the ever-larger budgets he wanted.

But by 1960 the film audience had dropped 30 percent from its postwar peak (it would continue to decline over the next 15 years). TV and foreign movies were to blame, but Kurosawa decided he could make the audience return with a blockbuster. Assembling his cast and crew for the first day of shooting, he

Kagemusha

more than a decade, Kurosawa was bankable again.

Japanese movie studios are notoriously niggardly, both because they cannot often get the kind of international sales that make America's blockbusters possible and because, owning all the theaters, they have a locked-in audience for their product. It took four years to convince the studios to produce *Kagemusha*, the costliest Japanese movie ever, with Toho contributing \$5 million toward the film and 20th Century Fox—after Francis Ford Coppola and George Lucas intervened—buying international rights for \$1.5 million.

Was *Kagemusha* worth it? Critics have praised it, and though it is long, solemn and formless, Kurosawa does for the historical film what he had done for the contemporary-life film—setting the story at a concrete time and place and maintaining tension by finding a complex hero. Gone are the supremely loyal retainers of the standard samurai film. At the center is the Kagemusha—a condemned thief saved by his resemblance to the lord of the Takeda clan, who plays stand-in for the lord, fooling everyone except the lord's horse.

The 71-year-old director is already in preproduction on *Ran*, his most ambitious film ever. The \$10 million price tag is prepaid by international rights sales. For once the studio may be taking an intelligent risk. And *Ran* promises to be far more interesting than was Kurosawa's previous Shakespeare adaptation, *Throne of Blood* (1957), from *Macbeth*. In that film the director was seduced by witches, ritual murder and expiation into basing his adaptation on arty Noh theater models. This script is based both on *Lear* and on historical figures of the Senkoku period. Lear's daughters have been translated into a warlord's sons.

The Western plot meeting medieval Japanese circumstances could at least give the Japanese historical genre film a shot of that mixed attitude that has been responsible for the best Japanese art since Hitomaro.

William B. Logan is a writer and translator who lives in New York.

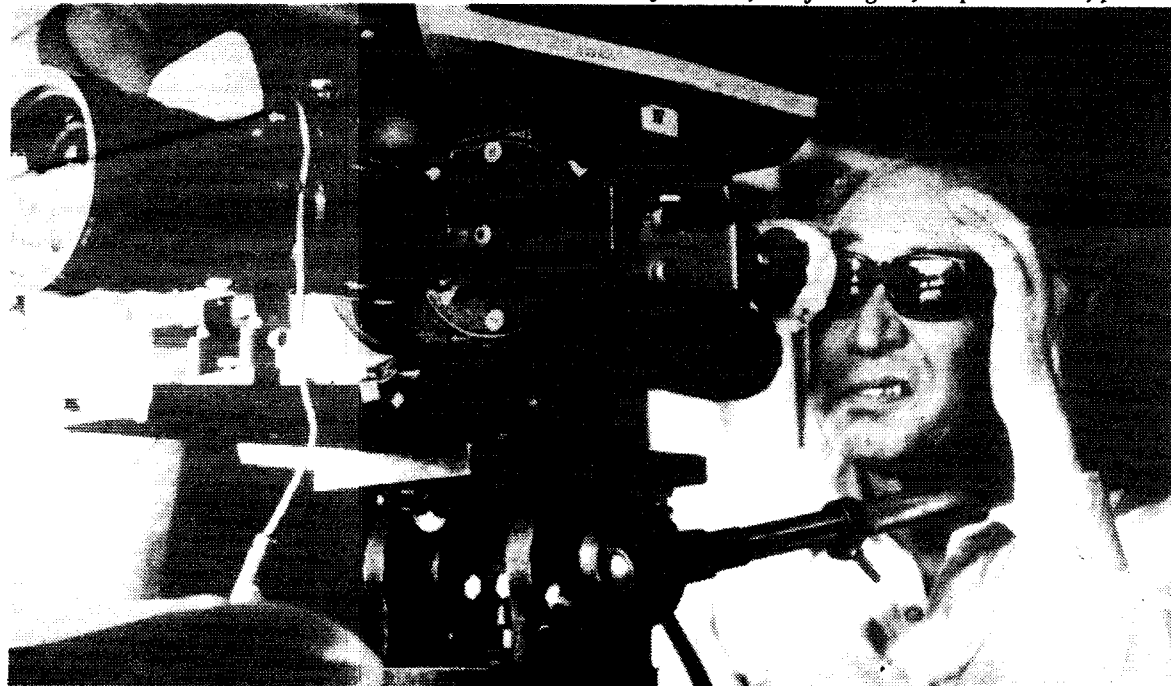
影武者

played them the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. That was the feeling they would aim for. It took two years to make *Red Beard* (the average Japanese movie only takes two months). Kurosawa built an entire town to use in just a few shots. In the end, the studio was disgusted and the popular actor Toshiro Mifune—who was to Kurosawa as John Wayne was to John Ford—had decided not to work with his old friend again. The movie made money, but too little and too slowly for Toho's liking.

Fall and rise.

Kurosawa's fortunes sank rapidly. He was fired from *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (Rumor said he had demanded hundreds of pairs of sunglasses and threatened to quit when they were refused. More likely, he parted company with 20th Century Fox over who would have the final cut on the Pearl Harbor epic.) *Dodeskaden*, a social-subject film financed by a consortium of four directors, was a retreat. Despite its brilliant use of color and its uncondemning view of a slum neighborhood, it lacked the newsreel tension that had marked the director's earlier efforts. Then a Russian producer offered to let Kurosawa film the story of his choice, so long as he filmed in the USSR. *Dersu Uzala* (1976) won both the top award of the Moscow Film Festival and the Academy Award for a foreign picture. After

Kagemusha's shadow-warrior is a complex hero.



Akira Kurosawa's international reputation didn't get him Japanese film contracts.

film at home. It now seems likely that the country's skittish film industry will feel confident enough to support Kurosawa's dream project, *Ran* (Chaos), a medieval family drama based on *King Lear*.

But until *Kagemusha*, Kurosawa hadn't made a successful Japanese film in more than a decade. Fired from one Japanese-American co-production in 1968, a failure with his low-budget *Dodeskaden* in 1970, and an attempted suicide in 1973, Kurosawa had but one success during the '70s—a movie he made in Russia. Is his present resurgence, largely funded by foreign money, a nostalgic hiccup in the market, or are Japan and the West rediscovering an authentic Japanese genius?

Kurosawa's detractors claim he is too Western, pointing out his debt to American filmmakers John Ford and Frank Capra. In fact, Kurosawa's approach to movies is archetypally Japanese. He bears a closer resemblance to the great seventh-century Japanese poet, Kakinomoto Hitomaro, than he does to John Ford. Both Japanese artists were

accounted for 20 percent of all Japanese pictures made in the immediate postwar era.

Beginning in 1946, Kurosawa made a series of 10 social-subject films that have the tension of a just-released newsreel. The most well-known of his contemporary films is *Ikiru* (1952), the story of a dying bureaucrat's efforts to turn an open cesspool into a children's park. Unlike a Capra melodrama, however, the movie is hinged in the middle: much of it takes place after the hero's death, at his wake. The film's punch comes from comparison between the bureaucrat's dogged struggle and his colleagues' efforts to forget him. Other films in the group are equally extraordinary: *Drunken Angel*, *Stray Dog* and *The Bad Sleep Well*.

Filmic naturalism and expressionism blend at a dizzying rate. *Drunken Angel* is the story of a westernized hood who, finding he has tuberculosis, is at last convinced to reform, only to die in a fight with his old boss. The climactic scene is a fascinating mixture of American action-movie shots and shadowed,

Crisis

Continued from page 8

and school texts are prohibited from including the English name. Customs officials are given the right to refuse entry to anything until all references to the Falklands have been eliminated. Since there were no indigenous people, the government refers to the islanders as "transplanted persons" and thus denies them legal status.

This simmering resentment has occasionally boiled into action, proving embarrassing to previous governments' calculated image as peaceful and patient negotiators. In 1966, 18 young Argentines hijacked a domestic airliner and or-

dered it flown to the Falklands. Their declared intention was liberation of the islands. A newspaper in Buenos Aires greeted the Don Quixote-like episode with the resounding headline: "We have been waiting since 1832." The hijackers were arrested by islanders when they landed and returned to the mainland, where three received jail sentences.

In 1974 an even wilder scheme occurred when the publisher of the capital daily newspaper *La Cronica* organized a campaign to recruit volunteers for an invasion of the islands. It reported that over 20,000 individuals responded, willing to forfeit their lives for the cause. In 1976, an Argentine destroyer fired across the bow of the British research vessel *Chackleton* as it approached the islands, and resulted in ambassadors being withdrawn from both countries. Diplomatic relations were restored in 1980, only to be



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severed again after the invasion.

Last year when news that the islanders had not only vetoed a possible lease-back agreement, whereby Argentina acquired sovereignty while England maintained administrative control, but also voted to freeze negotiations for 25 years, reportedly angered both the populace and regime officials. Everything came to a head when, in the days following the massive street demonstration, a group of Argentine scrap merchants landed on South Georgia Island, a dependency of the Falklands, and, while dismantling an unused whaling station, hoisted the Argentine flag. Britain protested and dispatched the naval ice-breaker *Endurance* to expel the men. Galtieri immediately reas-

serted a claim of sovereignty and sent warships to defend the scrap merchants.

Argentine sources reportedly claimed that this encounter was a planned step in the takeover and had been plotted 10 days earlier. But others speculate that Galtieri perceived the moment as ripe for fulfilling his needs. By launching the invasion suddenly, he could simultaneously surprise the Royal Marines, make himself the restorer of national pride (thus becoming a hero instead of an inept ruler) and incite the populace into forgetting their real problems.

The patriotic mass rallies in cities around the nation was predictable, yet still impressive. Galtieri appeared on a balcony of the presidential palace and was greeted by thousands of people, cheering, "Argentina! Argentina!"

Yet Galtieri's glory might prove to be short-lived. Prices have jumped up since the invasion, forcing the government to freeze all bank accounts in dollars and suspend currency transactions to protect the peso. Interest rates have risen 60 percent and withdrawals from financial markets have stimulated panic selling.

Moreover, Argentina can't afford to wage war. Economists estimate that even a short-term war effort will have a crippling effect on an already beleaguered economy. With England's largest armada since World War II hastening toward the Falklands, it may be that Galtieri's ploy to divert domestic problems will lead to his political demise and drag Argentina even further down into its economic quagmire.

J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein are San Francisco-based journalists who specialize in Latin American affairs.

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April 21st: Washington DC
7:30 p.m.

Church of St. Stephens,
16th and Newton Streets
For more information: (202) 523-1371
(days); (301) 933-4937 (evenings)

April 22nd: Toronto
7:30 p.m.

Ontario Institute for Studies in
Education, 252 Bloor Street West
For more information: (416) 978-6930
(days); 535-1341 (evenings)

April 24th: Chicago
7:00 p.m.

Holy Trinity High School
Auditorium, 1443 W. Division Street
For more information:
(312) 284-7464 or 227-2229

April 26th: Detroit
7:30 p.m.

St. Andrews Hall, 431 East Congress
For more information: (313) 869-4749
(days); 865-9733 (evenings)

April 27th: Denver
7:30 p.m.

Montview Presbyterian Church,
1980 Dahlia
For more information: (303) 722-9209
or 744-8258 (evenings only)

April 28th: Boulder
7:30

University of Colorado
For more information: (303) 722-9209
or 744-8258 (evenings only)

April 29th: San Francisco
7:30 p.m.

Everett Middle School Auditorium
450 Church Street (16th & 17th)
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May 1st: Los Angeles
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CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Paul Ginger.

NEW YORK, NY

April 22-24

First Radical Humor Festival, Thursday 8 p.m.-Saturday 6 p.m. (Sponsored by NYU Center for Marxist Studies and Cultural Correspondence Magazine). Performances—Friday, 8 p.m.; Washington Irving H.S. at 40 Irving Pl. (\$6/\$4 for students and unemployed; \$1 less in advance) Panels, Workshops, Film, Video, Free Performance Space, and Art Exhibit on humor and social change at NYU (registration at Tisch Bldg., 40 W. 4th St.) (\$5/\$3 for students and unemployed; \$1 less in advance) Left comics and cartoonists, satirists, singers, players, artists, poets, activists, and philosophers from all over the country are coming. Join us. For information, call (212) 787-1784.

BROOKLYN, NY

April 26

NY Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM) will present Robert Lekachman with the "Humanomics" Award at the First City Theatre, 76 East 13th St. (near 4th Ave.). Speakers include Ruth Messinger, Murray Kempton, Irving Howe, Michael Harrington, and Mark Green. Entertainment by Tom Chapin and the Labor Theatre. Admission: \$25 to DSA members, \$30 to friends. Time: 7-10 p.m. Monday. For further information call (212) 791-6305 or (212) 662-6977.

CHICAGO, IL

April 29-May 1

"Jobs in the '80s: Problems, Priorities, Possibilities." A national conference of the practical how-to of job creation with a focus on the needs of neighborhoods. Workshops include: Organizing the unemployed, union takeovers of plants, small business and job creation, work alternatives and coops, use of pension plans, etc. Conference site and registration information, contact National Training and Information Center, 1123 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 60607, (312) 243-3035.

May 1

The Democratic Socialists of America Chicago local will hold its annual Debs-Thomas dinner on Saturday, May 1, at the McCormick Inn. This

year's honoree is long-time DSOC and UAW activist Carl Shier. The cost of the dinner is \$25 and reservations and payments should be made in advance. Individuals or groups may be listed in the ad book as patrons for an additional \$25. Please send checks payable to the Debs-Thomas Dinner Committee, P.O. Box 59422, Chicago, IL 60659. All proceeds from the dinner will be used to fund DSA work in Chicago in the coming year.

SEATTLE, WA

May 7-8

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) present "Taking Back the Cities," an Urban Politics Conference, at Seattle University. Will feature Mayors Gus Newport of Berkeley and Mike Rotkin of Santa Cruz, as well as regional energy, labor and development activists. For more information: DSA, 105 NW 77th, Seattle, WA 98117, (206) 783-3290.

BERKSHIRES

May 7-8

The Berkshire Forum presents a critique of literature and art in several parts of the Socialist world, including the USSR, China and Cuba, by Annette Rubinstein. For reservations or information about this and subsequent Forum weekends write Berkshire Forum, Box 124, Stephentown, NY 12168, or call (518) 733-5497.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

May 8

Conference: "Advancing Union Democracy Cause"; 9:00 a.m.-6:30 p.m., St. Stephens School, 2123 Clinton Ave., \$3.00. Speakers from: Action Center Union Democracy; Benson, Fox, Schneider, Association for Union Democracy. Write 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003. Phone (212) 473-0606.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

May 15

"Getting to Know You" reception for local/regional citizen activists. Temple University Center City, 1616 Walnut (23rd floor), 2-5 p.m. Reservation deadline May 8. Information: Concerned Citizens of the Delaware Valley (Harry Hyde), Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

NORTHAMPTON, MA

June 21-July 2

Conference: "The Crisis in Hegemony: Reconstructing a Left Public." Sponsors: *Social Text*, *New Political Science*, Marxist Literary Group. Sessions/room/board, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Info/registration, c/o Doris Sommer, Amherst College, Amherst 01002; (413) 542-2396.

Farm

Continued from page 20
health and independence.

Berry is a marvelous story teller and this book of essays is really a string of tales adding up to the broader narrative of how Berry has come to be the writer and farmer he is. The book begins with an account of Berry's childhood in rural Kentucky and his decision to return there to farm, teach and write in early adulthood. It ends with the story of his family's acquisition of a further 40-acre piece eight years ago and their work to restore its health. In between there are accounts of a series of trips into wild country. These all begin as narrative and end as meditation. Like Thoreau, Berry is everywhere a moralist, always driving for the wisdom hidden in the unfolding of his subject. For Berry description too is a discipline, bringing the wild into

understanding by sympathy and effort.

"A farmer's relation to his land is the basic and central connection in the relation of humanity to the creation; the agricultural relation stands for the larger relation." Just because Berry is everywhere a moralist, we have to ask if this is true. Taken in its most literal meaning, I think it's not. Not everyone can be a farmer. Our history—not to speak of the vast numbers we now are—has carried us off another way too far and too long for that. And it's likely that human ecology requires of us a greater diversity. It is possible—and it may be necessary—that we all be gardeners.

But taken in its figural and almost mythological sense as a limning of human nature, I think it is only partly true. It seems to me that the connections to the creation of the inventor, the craftsman, the saint, the artist, the teacher, and so on almost indefinitely, are no less essential than the farmer's. The problem of society and culture—of hu-

man ecology—is how to have them all in balance all at once.

I have no doubt that Berry has little taste for cities. They're just not for him. In all his work he mentions only twice that there can be no worthwhile culture without good cities. At one point, needing an urban analogue for the farmer, he chooses the teacher. And teachers, of course, need not be any more at home in the city than in the country. Berry's fault, then, is that for all his breadth of insight he is too restrictively rural in outlook. But at the same time I would not have him write beyond what he knows and loves. The real shame is that we have no one writing about cities with the passion, care and understanding that Berry has for the farm.

At the worst, this fault is a "perspective by incongruity." For too long, too many writers have insisted too hard that humanism is what people in good cities would do every day by habit. It is not the least of his gifts that Berry has recollected

for us that the city is bound essentially and necessarily to the farm and that the farm can be equally the scene, if we'll let it be, for the growth of character

and value. And his is the kind of recollecting that makes a thing alive.

Geoffrey Gardner is the editor of *The Ark*, a poetry journal.

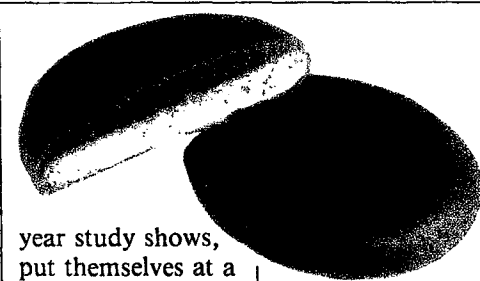
CULTURE SHOCK

IN THE WAR OF ALL AGAINST ALL

Girl Scouts are learning about business earlier than they used to. Boston Girl Scout officials reported themselves victims of a price war, when Girl Scouts in a nearby town cut prices of their cookies by a quarter. (Rip'N'Read)

WHY ARE YOU SMILING?

Working women who smile at men co-workers, a three-



year study shows, put themselves at a disadvantage. Men seem to read the smile as a sign of submission and interrupt more often than they do when talking to men. (Rip'N'Read)

J.R., COMMUNIST DUPE

A Danish parliament

official, Erhard Jacobsen, has accused Danish TV of "creeping leftist infiltration," because it carries *Dallas*. Jacobsen says the show is part of a "malicious slander of American family life, produced by leftists." (Rip'N'Read)

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Advertisements for Ideology

By Angela Zito

BEIJING, CHINA

WAS A CURIOUS EXHIBIT. The audience, hundreds of people, were reproducing it in miniature detail in notebooks. Watercolor boxes littered the floor and felt tip colored pens stuck out of pockets. The crowd made it hard to get near the objects of all this interest—the newest and best Chinese advertising posters.

This first showing of advertising and packaging design was held in Beijing during the last week of February. It coincided with the founding of the Chinese National Association of Advertising, a group dedicated to the promotion of advertising skills (but not the actual business, which is handled by the China United Advertising Corporation founded last year).

One-third of the exhibit was devoted to the history of advertising in China. The artists copying the posters so carefully were design students at the Central Academy of Fine Arts. So although the exhibit stressed the aesthetic aspect of advertising, it was not "The Ad as Art Form" as it is perceived when ad posters are exhibited in an American museum.

Just two years ago this month the first foreign TV ad appeared. Japanese Citizen watches were hyped for 15 seconds after the evening news. That one year contract cost \$526,000 for 365 chances to reach the evening audience of at least 100 million. Such bargains in the ad world are hard to come by.

But the government has followed a consistent policy against the import of foreign consumer goods, reserving precious foreign currency for buying technology. In fact consumerism is not really encouraged. Recently the *People's Daily* announced that factories topping their quota of sewing machines, bicycles and wristwatches were to cut back. This is a puzzling curb on buyers since the last six months have seen constant reminders that although bicycle production had increased it still did not fulfill demand, especially in the countryside.

The products pictured on the exhibit's posters were all domestic and ranged from cigarettes, cellos and ceiling fans to clothing, cosmetics and food. But many of the things so enticingly presented are either terribly expensive or so hard to find that "advertising" for them is hardly necessary.

Most advertising in China tends to be for heavy trucks, engines and machinery whether foreign or domestic, and not consumer oriented. The buying unit is collective: work units and factories. The advertiser, under regulations as of May 1, must likewise be an authorized work unit.

Then to what purpose an advertising

exhibit? It has less to do with consumerism than with the Four Modernizations.

The program information selling for 20 cents from a kiosk outside, and appropriately packaged in a fancy plastic bag printed with an ad, described advertising as "the link between supply and demand, the regulation of the market." But in the eight page newspaper format program (carrying, incidentally, its own ads—for heavy machinery), two other themes emerged.

The first was the opposition of "native style" and "modern," an odd juxtaposition of the geographic and the chronologic that reflects the gap felt by Chinese between themselves and the foreign world. In an essay on "Native Style in Packaging" the writer defends the lo-

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Supply side theories get a hard sell on Chinese billboards

cal style of porcelain wine bottles saying that, contrary to what some comrades think, it is "compatible with the modern" and indeed "foreign friends happily enjoy Chinese native style."

This essay only discussed packaging and with good reason. The posters favored abstract geometric design with few traditional symbols and fewer Chinese characters than one would expect. Many used *pin-yin* romanization instead and a few even used English.

Designers face a problem. The abandonment of the iconography of the Cultural Revolution, red suns rising and heroic soldiers posing, is accompanied by an understandable reluctance to recoup the traditional. There is a certain incongruity and inappropriateness in both Long March suitcases and Altar of Heaven toilet bowls.

Despite their vagueness as to what would constitute a "modern national style" the program writers were against "blindly bringing in foreign styles." They maintained that "not only will Chinese dislike it, foreigners will look down upon such a thing."

The program also dwelt on advertising as both art and science. Advertisements not only inform people but "are a way of beautifying cities, showing the cultural level of a nation and raising people's powers of aesthetic perception appreciation." As "the sea of red" (the way of describing the huge slogans of the Cultural Revolution) ebbed away it did leave in its wake a lot of bleak and empty city spaces. But this mention of the city as the arena for advertising as an oblique admission of the essentially urban character of the whole phenomenon.

In stressing advertising as a science one writer said, "It reflects the objective laws of commodity circulation and knowledge of this activity will enable us to serve the Four Modernizations better."

Whether or not this is true, there is little doubt that conferring the status of "scientific" upon advertising will enable it to serve more effectively as propaganda for the Modernizations than old-style hortatory posters, whose only authority lay in a government order.

Symbols of modernity.

In 1979 I saw an exhibition of these science propaganda posters in Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi province. They were part of the "Place the Four Modernizations upon a Firm Scientific Basis" campaign. Some of them were informative about planting techniques of chemistry, but mostly they were vague exhortations to "be scientific," to "appreciate science" done in strikingly abstract designs. They didn't last long either in bookstores or on billboards. It was apparently just not the way to go about sensitizing the public to the virtues of modern science and technology.

But an ad that is itself the product of science and, further, a "science" with special, respected practitioners like economists and designers? That is something different and much more effective.

In today's China, advertising, which the foreign press tirelessly reminds us was declared decadent and bourgeois during the Cultural Revolution, signifies precisely that decadent and modern (i.e. bourgeois) world. The Chinese people have been approaching this world cautiously for the last 150 years.

As propaganda for the Four Modernizations, then, advertising should do well. As a "science" and an "art" it is part of what it signifies: modern life in the world outside China.

But some people see it as farce. "It's about the same as the young kids who wear bell-bottom pants and comb their hair in strange ways," one student (not a designer) told me at the exhibit. "Just the surface."

An older man pointed out that it is annoying to face advertisements for useless things and for things that can't be found.

The full significance of advertising as the promise of "the good life" will wait upon the development of production. In front of the poster for the beautiful bicycle someone put it nicely:

"Why bother to advertise for something we all want anyway?"

Angela Zito is a historian researching in China.